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THE NORSE CHURCH IN MEDIEVAL AMERICA

Much has been written about the coming of the Norsemen to America. The subject has a perennial interest for it is rich in problems that may never be fully solved. Discussion of these problems, however, is bringing new light that drives away something of the darkness and obscurity surrounding the Norse explorers of America so that the history of the early Norse Americans, like the history of the ancient Egyptians, needs from time to time to be rewritten.

The purpose of this essay is not so much to discuss old problems and opinions, much less to offer any new theories regarding the coming of the Northmen to the western lands, but rather to give, as far as the limits of this essay and the scanty materials allow, the history of the Norse Christians in Medieval America.

The sources for this history, though usually brief and incomplete in treatment, are more varied and more reliable than one who has but a passing acquaintance with the Norse discoveries in America commonly supposes. It seems necessary, therefore, to give a brief account of these sources and some estimation of their historical value.

The earliest account of the Norse discovery of America is that found in the *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, Book IV, written by a German, Adam of Bremen, the first trustworthy historian of the Arctic regions. Adam was a Canon of Bremen under Archbishop Adalbert (1043-1072). At Bremen, "the Rome of the North," he gathered from the cathedral library, from church archives, and from reports of travellers from the

West, data for the history. From Sven Estruthson, King of Denmark, "on whose memory as on a tablet was engraved the whole history of the barbarians," he obtained his information regarding Vinland. The best MS. of Adam's work is at Vienna; the best printed edition appears in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores, Vol. VII, pp. 267-293. Another early authority is Ari Thorgilsson (d. 1148), usually called Hinn Frodi, i. e. the Wise, who wrote in the vernacular the *Islandingabok*. Only a fragment of this history of Iceland remains, preserved in the Arna-Magnaean collection at Copenhagen in two manuscript copies. If the *Landnamabok* and the *Kristni Saga* are not his, as some think, they are, it seems certain, based on his work. The first of these is found in the Arna-Magnaean Library in Nos. 371 and 107; the latter in Nos. 371 and 105. Both of these belonged originally to the *Hauksbok*, a vellum MS. of the fourteenth century to be treated later.

Contemporary with Ari was Abbot Nicholas of Thingeyre (d 1159), a geographer who corroborates the geographical reports of Adam and Ari. His work is extant in a MS. of the early fifteenth century, now in the Arna-Magnaean Library, No. 194.

The *Heimskringle*, also called the *Book of Kings (Könungabok)*, gives the history of Norway from its mythological beginnings to 1177. It was written about the beginning of the fourteenth century, probably by an Icelander in Norway. This, too, is in the Arna-Magnaean Library. It is a beautiful and well-preserved parchment in Codex Frisianus, No. 45, fol. The *Eyrbyggia Saga* (c. 1250) has an account of a battle with the Skroelings in Wineland.

The *Saga of Eric the Red* is extant in two complete vellum texts. The older of these is contained in the Arna-Magnaean Codex, No. 544, commonly known as *Hauk's Book (Hauksbök)*, a manuscript written for and in part prepared by Hauk Erlendsson early in the fourteenth century, He died in Norway in 1334. *Hauk's Book* originally contained 200 leaves, with widely varied contents. The text of the Saga of Eric the Red, sometimes called the Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni is given in REEVES, *Finding of Wineland the Good* (pp. 28-52).

Another valuable collection of Norse manuscripts is that

known as the *Flatey Book (Flateyjarbök)*. It is the most extensive (1700 pages) and most perfect of Icelandic manuscripts. It was found in the seventeenth century by Brynjulf Sveinson (d. 1675), an Icelandic bishop zealous in collecting manuscripts. This MS. was obtained from Jonas Torfasson of Flatey Island, whence it derives its name. In 1662 Bishop Sveinson presented it together with other manuscripts to King Ferdinand III of Denmark. It is now No. 1005 in the Royal Collection at Copenhagen. The most valuable materials for American history in this MS. are *The Short Story of Eric the Red* and *A Short Story of the Greenlanders*. The *Flatey Book* assigns the discovery of Vinland to Bjarni Herjulfsson instead of to Leif Ericsson and differs from the *Hauk's Book* account in other minor details. Recent scholars are inclined to place the authority of *Hauk's Book* above that of the *Flatey Book*, but there are writers who defend the latter.

References to Norse-American history in the *Icelandic Annals* are brief but significant. The first book of Annals was written in the south of Iceland about 1280. In the Arna-Magnaean Library there is a collection called *Lawman's Annals* written by Einar Hoflidsson, an Icelandic priest, in the fourteenth century. The *Flatey Book* contains Annals written by another priest, Magnus Thorhallson, before 1395. The *Annales Reseniani* are preserved in a manuscript copy made by Arni Magnusson; the original vellum MS. was destroyed by fire in 1728. These Annals were compiled before 1319. One of the best modern collections of all these Annals is that edited by Dr. G. Storm, known as *Islandske Annaler indtil 1578* (Christiania, 1888).

Two other early sources deserve mention. *The King's Mirror*, which certainly was written not later than the thirteenth century, is an interesting dialogue between a father and his son about the islands of the West. It does not mention Vinland but gives a detailed description of life in Greenland. There is an excellent English translation of *The King's Mirror* with an introduction by Dr. L. M. Larson (published in New York, 1917). Ivar Bardsson, for many years deputy to the Bishops of Gardar during the middle years of the fourteenth century, gives a first-hand account of the Greenland parishes and the geography of the colonies.

Collections of these sources bearing on the Norse settlements in America may be found entire or in part in the following: *The Norroena Anglo-Saxon Classics*, New York, 1906; C. C. Rafn, *Antiquitates Americanae sive Scriptores Septentrionales rerum ante-Columbianarum in America*, Hafniae, 1837; *Gronländs Historiske Mindesmaerker*, 3 vols., Copenhagen, 1838-1845; *Origines Islandicae* (edited by G. Vigfusson and F. Y. Powell, Oxford, 1905). Arthur M. Reeves in his scholarly work *The Finding of Wineland the Good*, gives translations of the sources for the Wineland history and appreciations of their value. Other works used by the writer of this essay are listed in the bibliography.

As for what bears directly on the history of the Church in Medieval America, the most valuable sources are papal documents. The papal bulls and briefs edited by J. C. Heywood and the collection of documents given by DeRoo in the second volume of his *History of America before Columbus* throw much light on the Church in Medieval America. One regrets that Mgr. DeRoo, who has gathered together so much valuable material on this subject, was not more discriminating in sifting and evaluating it. As neither Heywood nor DeRoo claims to have obtained all the ecclesiastical documents bearing on the See of Gardar, we may confidently hope that there are still undiscovered materials in the archives of the Vatican and of the old Norse Sees awaiting the historian of the Church in Medieval America.

If there is no discussion in this essay of the monuments and remains that seem to throw light on old Norse history in America, it is because as C. R. Beazley says in his *Dawn of Modern Geography* (vol. II, p. 75): "The narrative of the Vinland voyages has next to no confirmation from monuments but draws its authority entirely from documents. The inscribed rocks, the buildings, and the skeletons which have been supposed to witness to the truth of the Sagas have been, with one exception, abandoned as evidence by all but enthusiasts." The inscribed rock at Kingiktorsoak near the entrance of Baffin Bay is certainly genuine. But the Old Stone Mill at Newport, R. I., and Dighton Rock on the Taunton River near Berkley, Massachusetts, the reputed Norse city of Norumbega so dear to Dr. Horsford, are, it is now generally conceded, not Norse remains at all. There is,

indeed, that more recent find, the Kensington Rune Stone, the story of which is told by Dr. Schaefer in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. VI (1920). But its genuineness is, to say the least, doubtful.

I.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE NORSE CHURCH IN THE NEW WORLD.

The Church of Christ is catholic; it is her divine mission to carry the gospel to all peoples and into all lands. She has, therefore, followed close upon the route of the discoverer and has sent her missionaries to accompany explorers and colonizers. As the acceptance of Christianity by the Norsemen was almost contemporaneous with their discovery and colonization of the New World, the beginnings of the Church in Medieval America are intimately bound up with the romantic tales of Eric the Red and his son Leif.

The victories of Harold Fairhair in Norway during the ninth century drove the Norsemen westward to the Orkneys, the Faroes, and to Iceland.[1] The Norse people prospered there; the Althing was established and met annually, and in the tenth century the population was twenty thousand with four hundred independent proprietors.[2] Efforts to win these people to the Faith began early, but it was not until the year 1000 that the Althing introduced Christianity by law and all the people were baptized.[3]

From Iceland to Greenland it was a sail of but a day or two. The latter land could not remain long unknown. There is evidence that it was not. Even though the Bull *Omnium Fidelium* of Gregory IV (A. D. 835) be spurious, or the words *Greenland* and *Iceland* be interpolations,[4] other sources show that Greenland was known in Iceland before the time of Eric the Red.[5]

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1 TAYLOR, *The Medieval Mind*, vol. I, p. 153. New York, 1919.

2 *Jon Arason*, article by JOHAN LILJENCRANTS in the *Ecclesiastical Review*, vol. LV (1916), p. 364.

3 *Heimskringla*, in *Norroena Classics*, vol. V. p. 228. New York and London, 1906.

4 *Catholic Historical Review* (abbreviated throughout as CHR) vol. III, p. 211.

5 DE ROO, *History of America before Columbus*, vol. II, p. 142 sq. Philadelphia, 1900. (In this essay DE ROO refers to this work, vol. II). DE COSTA, *Pre-Columbian Discovery of America*, p. 73. Albany, 1890.

But it was Eric the Red's discovery of Greenland that led to its settlement and colonization. Eric the Red and his father Thorvald came from Jaederen in south-western Norway to Iceland "on account of manslaughter.' Here Eric was again guilty of murder and of other crimes.[6] Being outlawed at Thorsnessthing he equipped a ship for voyage and, with his people, set out westward for the land which "Gunnbiorn, son of Ulf, saw when he was driven westward across the ocean." This was probably in 982.[7] He arrived at the south-eastern coast of Greenland, sailed southward and spent the winter near the middle of the Eastern Settlement. In the spring he built a home at Ericsfirth, explored the coast and gave many local names. After nearly three years absence he returned to Iceland where he told of the land he had discovered and called it Greenland, "for," he said, "that might attract men thither, when the land has a fine name."[8] The ruse was successful. Thirty-five ships left Iceland in Eric's company, but only fourteen of these reached their destination; the rest were either lost or driven back by storms. "That" says the Saga, "was XV winters before Christianity was fixed by law in Iceland."[9] This event, then, took place in the year 985.[10]

The first colonists in Greenland were pagans,[11] with the exception of Herjulf Bardharson, who some think was a friar, and the family of Thorbjorn Vivilson.[12] But it was not long till the entire settlement accepted Christianity.

In the year 993 Olaf Tryggvason conquered Norway and immediately set about winning the people to the Catholic Faith.[13] King Olaf had something of the spirit of the crusader and the zeal of an apostle, qualities that have won for him the title of Olaf the Saint. His ambition was to enroll all the people of Norse blood, scattered over the peninsulas and islands of the

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6 *The Flatey Book*, p. 13 (Facsimile document with Danish and English translations, published by the Norroena Society, London, New York, etc., 1906. References to the *Flatey Book* are to this edition).

7 RAFN, *Antiquitates Americanae*, p. 463. Havniae, 1837. (Unless stated otherwise reference to RAFN is to this work).

8 *Flatey Book*, p. 13.

9 *Ibid.*

10 RAFN, p. 463. Some, following the Annals, give 986. Cf. DE ROO, p. 145.

11 RAFN, p. 20.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19; DE ROO, p. 177 sq.

13 GJERSET, *History of the Norwegian People*, vol. I, p. 174 sq. New York, 1915.

north, under the banner of Christ. Hence, when Leif, the son of Eric the Red, came from Greenland to Norway to see King Olaf at Drontheim and "the King expounded the faith to him," Leif and his shipmates listened willingly and were baptized. During all that winter they remained with the King.[14] The following spring "King Olaf sent Leif Ericsson to Greenland to proclaim Christianity there, and Leif went there that summer."[15] With Leif the King sent Thormod, the priest, and some other ordained clerics to preach to the people and baptize them.[16] In the year 1000 Leif set out for Greenland. On his way he seems to have been driven from his course and to have discovered "Wineland the Good," which, it is quite certain, was the American continent.[17]

The following year he arrived at his Greenland home, Ericsfiord, where the people welcomed him warmly. His father, however, was not pleased with him because he had brought the priest, "a trickster" to Greenland.[18] Nevertheless Leif caused Christianity to be proclaimed throughout the land and announced King Olaf's messages to the people.[19] Eric only later accepted the new Faith, but Thiodhild, his wife, received it joyfully and had a Church built near her home where she and the people were wont to offer their prayers.[20]

The old Sagas have tales a-plenty to show that paganism did not vanish immediately with the coming of Christianity, and that it was not an easy thing for these hot-blooded people of the North to bend under the yoke of the Gospel.[21] Still Christianity was the established religion of Greenland and there are edifying examples in the Sagas that testify to the deep and practical faith of many of the first Norse Christians in America. When Trorvald lay dying in Wineland from the wounds received in the battle with the Skroelings, his last request to his men was that they

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14 *Flatey Book*, p. 19.
15 The *Norroena Classics*, vol. V, p. 229.
16 De Roo, p. 182; Reeves, *The Finding of Wineland the Good*, p. 14 (referred to uniformity in this essay as Reeves). London, 1890.
17 Rafn, p. 463.
18 Reeves, p. 14.
19 Reeves, p. 36.
20 *Ibid.*, p. 37.
21 See the account of Gudrida and of Freydis in the *Flatey Book*, pp. 67 sq.

bury him on the headland with a cross at his head and at his feet, "and call it *Krossaness* for ever after."[22]

During the eleven decades that elapsed between the introduction of Christianity into Greenland and the coming of the first known missionary bishop, Eric, in 1112 the Church was the great civilizer of the wild and blood-thirsty Norsemen. It was she especially that kept up constant intercourse with the home-country over the seas.[23] Churches and monasteries were built.[24] Of the priests who labored among these people we know very little. Besides Thormod, who accompanied Leif the Lucky, Lyschander, who is not reliable, mentions two priests on the Greenland mission during the eleventh century, a certain Eric or Henry in the year 1024, and another Eric in 1052. Adam of Bremen, the historian of this period, mentions no bishops for Greenland appointed by the Archbishop of Bremen.[25] There is an opinion, however, based on Ivar Bardsson's account and on some doubtful lists of the Bishops of Greenland that Steinesnes was the seat of a bishopric, but the evidence is so meagre and obscure that the best authorities accept the statement of the *King's Mirror* that Greenland had but the one diocese of Gardar.[26] De Roo's conclusion from the mention of a bishop of Greenland in Pope Victor II's bull issued in 1055 that there must have been a bishop in Greenland at this time is not warranted. The Bishops of Iceland may have had jurisdiction over Greenland.[27] What is much more probable is that Greenland received its first missionary bishop in or about 1112. There is, however, no record of his consecration and little is known of his life.[28] From the entry in an Icelandic annal for 1112 that "Eric the bishop went on a journey" it is believed that he went to Greenland. The annals again state that in the year 1121 "Eric, the bishop of Greenland, went to seek Vinland."[29] About the purpose and results of the journey

22 *Flatey Book*, p. 61; DE ROO, pp. 185-195, gives examples of Catholic and of pagan practices among the first Christians of America.

23 FISCHER, *The Discoveries of the Norsemen in America*, p. 21. St. Louis and London, 1903. (Uniformly referred to in this essay as FISCHER).

24 Cf. Section II of this essay.

25 DE ROO, p. 195 sq.; TORFAEUS, *Gronlandia Antiqua*, Ch. XXIX. Havniae, 1706. (Uniformly cited as TORFAEUS).

26 FISCHER, pp. 28, 29.

27 DE ROO, pp. 54, 200.

28 REEVES, p. 82.

29 CHR, vol. V, p. 184, quoting STORM'S *Islandske Annaler*. Cf. also the *Norroena Classics*, vol. XV, pp. 102-107; REEVES, p. 82; FISCHER, 29, 41.

to Wineland there is naught but conjecture. That Eric perished in Wineland is very probable, for a year or two later the people of Greenland took measures to obtain a permanent bishop.[30]

All of importance that we know of Norse Christianity on the mainland of America during this period has been given above. That many of the adventurous Vikings who came to the continent were Christian, that Bishop Eric in the year 1121 came hither, we are certain; all else regarding missionary work and the building of churches is mere conjecture.

For the sake of completeness, however, we add a summary of the facts regarding the discovery of the mainland of America and the testimonies from a few sources.

Leif Ericsson, who left Norway for Greenland in the year 1000, was driven out of his course to a strange land where grew vines and self-sown wheat and great trees called "masur." Some time after his return to Greenland he and others set out to seek and explore this new land, among them Thorstein, a hero of the Sagas, with his wife Gudrid; Thorfinn Karlsefni, a merchant who married Gudrid after the death of Thorstein; and Bjarne Herjulfson, to whom the *Flatey Book* assigns the honor of having discovered Wineland, Markland, and Helluland.[31] Several journeys of exploration were made and attempts at colonization, none of which was permanent—a fact that explains the absence of old Norse ruins on the continent.[32]

In the fourth chapter of Adam of Bremen's (c. 1070) *Gesta Hammaburgensis* there is found this reference to the American continent: "Moreover he (the King) spoke of an island in that ocean discovered by many, which is called Wineland, for the reason that vines grow wild there.....from the accounts of the Danes.....we know (this) to be a fact."[33] Ari Frodi, called the Wise, (d. 1148) refers to the Eskimos that attacked the Greenlanders as "the same people who had inhabited Vinland."[34]

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30 FISCHER, p. 42; Cf. No. III of this essay.

31 The earliest and more reliable authorities here contradict the *Flatey Book* and are corroborated by the *Sagas* of Thorfinn Karlsefni and of Eric the Red. For discussion of this subject cf. FISCHER, p. 12 sq.

32 Cf. the *Flatey Book;* the *Norroena Classics*, vol. XV, which give in translation the *Sagas* of Eric the Red, of Thorfinn Karlsefni and passages from the *Flatey Book* and the *Icelandic Annals* regarding the Norse discovery of America.

33 REEVES, p. 92; FISCHER, p. 2 sq.

34 REEVES, p. 10; FISCHER, p. 4 sq.

Of later date (1400-1450) is a passage in the collectanea of Middle-age writings known as No. 194, a document preserved in the Arna-Magnaean Library. This interesting passage thus refers to the location of the Norse discoveries on the continent: "Southward from Greenland is Helluland, then comes Markland; thence it is not far to Wineland the good, which some men believe extends from Africa, and, if this be so, then there is an open sea flowing between Wineland and Markland. It is said that Thorfinn Karlsefni hewed a 'house-neat-timber,' and then went to seek Wineland the good, and came to where they believed the land to be, but they did not succeed in exploring it, or in obtaining any of its products. Leif the Lucky first found Wineland, and he then found merchants in evil plight at sea, and restored them to life by God's mercy; and he introduced Christianity into Greenland, which waxed there so that an episcopal seat was established at the place called Gardar.[35]

There has been much study and speculation regarding the probable location of Helluland, Markland, and Wineland. Arngrim Jonsson and Torfaeus for a time assigned Wineland to a latitude of 50° 26′ north. But Torfaeus later changed his views somewhat so that Newfoundland (49° latitude) would correspond to the ancient Wineland. The authority of Torfaeus was generally accepted in the eighteenth century.[36] But during the nineteenth century the opinion of Bishop Finnr Jonsson, Rafn, and others prevailed among writers, and it was held to be certain that Wineland was on the southern New England coast.[37]

Professor Gustav Storm with the assistance of Capt. R. L. Phythian of the U. S. Naval Observatory has shown that Rafn's astronomical calculations are incorrect. Storm thinks that very probably Helluland, "southward from Greenland," was Labrador; that Markland was Newfoundland; and that Wineland, which is "not far" from Markland, was Nova Scotia.[38]

Wherever on the continent these places may have been we are certain of this, that nearly five hundred years before Columbus saw the New World Norse Christians had planted the standard of Christ upon the shores of the American continent.

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35 Reeves, pp. 15, 16.
36 *Ibid.*, p. 182.
37 *Ibid.*, p. 183.
38 *Ibid.*, p. 183-185; Fischer, p. 94 sq.

II.

THE FLOURISHING PERIOD OF THE NORSE CHURCH IN MEDIEVAL AMERICA.

It is quite impossible to give a satisfactory chronological account of the Norse Church in America; documentary sources are too meagre for that. Section three of this essay, which deals with the bishops of the See of Gardar from 1124 down to 1377, presents in order of time the outstanding facts known to us about the Greenland Church during the two centuries and a half which might justly be called the flourishing period of the American Medieval Church. This chapter is an attempt to sketch briefly the political, ecclesiastical, physical, and economic conditions in Greenland in order to picture, as far as that can be done in a brief essay, Catholic life in the first American See. For this purpose the following topics are discussed: Church and State, geography and climate, population, churches and clergy, economic conditions, and tithes.

The intimate connection between worship and state affairs that existed among the Norse pagans was not broken with the introduction of Christianity. As one writer says: "In Norway Church and State were more closely connected than in any other country in Europe."[39] It was principally through the influence of kings that Christianity was established in Norse countries. These kings deemed themselves not only guardians and champions of the Church but as rulers who had the right and duty to appoint ecclesiastical officials.[40]

In 834, Louis, the son of Charlemagne, nominated St. Anschar, the "Apostle of the North," first Bishop of Hamburg with jurisdiction over the newly organized Church of Scandinavia; and in the following year Gregory IV confirmed the nomination and made Anschar papal legate to all the Norse peoples.[41] This jurisdiction of the Archbishops of Hamburg was renewed by Gregory's successors. But difficulties between the Norse kings

39 WILLSON, *History of the Church and State in Norway from the 10th to the 16th Century, Preface*, p. VI. Westminster, 1903.
40 The *King's Mirror*, edited by L. M. Larson, p. 38. New York, 1917.
41 MANN, H. K., *The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages*, vol. VI, p. 84 sq. London, 1910.

and Saxon Archbishops led to the establishment of a Metropolitan See at Lund (1104) with Greenland under its jurisdiction. In 1152, Nidaros (Drontheim) was erected into an archiepiscopal See. During all this time relations between the kings and the archbishops were as a rule amicable; but towards the end of the twelfth century Sverre, called Sigurdsson, headed a party of opposition against ecclesiastical influence. After fifty years of civil warfare the conflict was pretty well settled. The Church, though deprived of some of her privileges, continued to be a power in the Norwegian State. Relations between civil and ecclesiastical rulers were, with few exceptions, peaceable; and the Church became the great civilizing influence inaugurating a period of literary, political, and economic prosperity that made Norway one of the most honored states of Europe.[42]

The Bishops of Gardar were immediately dependent on the Archbishops of Drontheim (Nidaros). According to the regulations made by Nicholas Breakspeare, papal legate sent by Eugene III to establish archbishoprics in Norway and Sweden (1152), the archdiocese of Drontheim was to include five dioceses: Skälholt and Hölar in Iceland, the Orkneys, the Faroe Islands including the Hebridies and Man, and Gardar in Greenland. A chapter of priests was to constitute the bishop's council and elect his successor without interference from secular authority. The archbishop was to be chosen by the chapter and consecrated by the Pope. But the bishops of the colonial dioceses were to be chosen by the chapter of the diocese of Drontheim.[43] Hence the bishops of Gardar were appointed and consecrated at Drontheim, not at Rome. Innocent III, writing to the Archbishop-elect of Drontheim, commanded the bishops to obey him and his successors as their metropolitans and to receive their consecration from his hands.[44] The Church claimed the right to legislate in all ecclesiastical matters, to enforce canon law, to have separate ecclesiastical courts, and to exercise jurisdiction over all matters touching the Church and the clergy.[45] Still in practice the kings did interfere,—sometimes for good as when St. Olaf

42 The *King's Mirror*, pp. 36-49; MANN, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, p. 346 and vol. IX, p. 240 sq.
43 GJERSET, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 345-355.
44 CHR., vol. III, p. 346.
45 GJERSET, *col. cit.*, vol. I, pp.

enforced canon law in the North, and King Sigurd appointed Arnold, his clerk, bishop-elect of Gardar.

Politically Greenland was, at least in theory, an independent democracy. It was that when the Althing chose to accept Christianity, and when under the persuasion of Socke Thorersson, it petitioned King Sigurd for a bishop of its own. During the reign of Haakon Haakonsson, Greenland became a crown colony, a Norwegian dependency. This was in 1261. And so it remained during the rest of the medieval period.[46]

There has been a good deal of controversy regarding the exact location of the inhabited parts of Greenland during the Middle Ages. There were two settlements called Eystribygd or the Eastern Settlement, and Vestribygd or the Western Settlement. For a long time it was generally held that the former, as the name might indicate, lay on the east coast of the island and the latter on the west, but to-day scholars are almost unanimous in their opinion that both colonies were on the western coast, and that the Eastern Settlement lay just south-east of the Western. The Eastern Settlement lay between Hvarf on the south and about 61 degrees north latitude; the Western Settlement, for the most part in the modern district of Godthaab, between 63 and 66½ degrees.[47]

Indeed it would have been extremely difficult for the old Norse colonists to settle on the eastern coast, for the ice there is four or five ells in thickness and extends so far out from the land that it would take a four-days journey to cross it.[48]

The population of Greenland in the Middle Ages has been variously estimated. Larson says there could not have been more than 3000 inhabitants at any time.[49] Nansen thinks 2000 is the highest.[50] Both base their calculations on *The King's Mirror* and *Gronlands Historiske Mindesmaerker*, III, 226-229. Some scholars, allowing a larger number of persons to a homestead or guessing at the number of inhabitants from the number of churches and the amounts paid as Peter's Pence, estimated the

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46 *Ibid.*, pp. 197-201.
47 FISCHER, pp. 23-27; NANSEN, *In Northern Mists*, vol. I, p. 271. New York, 1915.
48 The *King's Mirror*, p. 138.
49 CHR., vol. V, p. 177.
50 *In Northern Mists*, vol. I, p. 272.

population at 5000 or even 10,000.[51] *The King's Mirror* (p. 144) gives this information about the population: "The people in this country are all Christians and have churches and priests. If the land lay near some other country it might be reckoned the third of a bishopric; but the Greenlanders now have their own bishop, as no other arrangement is possible on account of the great distance from other people."

The Eastern Settlement is said to have had 190 homesteads, ruins of which have been found in at least 150 places. There were probably 90 homesteads in the Western Settlement.[52] The number of churches is surprisingly large. There were 12 in the Eastern Settlement where ruins of 5 have been found and partly examined. Of the 4 churches in the Western Settlement only 2 have been located. The churches, built of very large, carefully-chosen stones, were usually about 48 to 60 feet long, and 24 feet wide. The Cathedral of Gardar, however, was much larger.[53] It was cruciform in shape; its total length about 74 feet measured on the inside. The nave was 26 feet wide, with the narrow transepts extending only 4 feet beyond the nave. All other churches were rectangular without projecting choir. The walls, at least four feet thick, were built of red sandstone, turf and clay. The roof was of wood. Only the church at Kakortok contained mortar and glazed windows.[54] Larson accounts for the relatively large number of parishes by the absence of roads and the severity of the winter weather which hindered long journeys to church.[55] They are, at least, monuments to the practical Catholicity of these early Norse Americans.

There were but two religious houses in Greenland that we know of. On the north-eastern shore of Rafnsfjord there was a convent of "nuns of St. Benedict's Order." To this community belonged much of the surrounding land and one half the islands in the fjord.[56] Also in the East Settlement was a large monastery dedicated to St. Olaf and St. Augustine which belonged to

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51 FISCHER, pp. 28, 29.
52 NANSEN, vol. I, p. 271.
53 *Ibid.*, p. 272; FISCHER, p. 39.
54 CHR., vol. V, pp. 178, 179.
55 CHR., p. 178. DE ROO, pp. 351-367, describes in detail the location and ruins of these churches.
56 DE ROO, vol. II, p. 358.

the Canons Regular. Moosmüller is of the opinion that this monastery existed as far back as the eleventh century.[57]

Among the ruins are the churchyards of Kagsiarsuk and Ikigait. At the former place bodies were found in a kind of underground vault a little below the surface of the ground. There was neither coffin nor shroud. But at Ikigait the bodies were deeply buried in coffins fastened with wooden nails. In the coffins were small crosses of carved wood. The bodies were wrapped in brown woolen cloth.[58] The *Karlesfni Saga* says: "This custom has been in Greenland since Christianity came hither that men were buried there at the homesteads when they died in unconsecrated earth. They used to set a pole up from their breast, and afterwards, when clerks (priests) came there, they would pull up the pole and pour in holy water, and hold chant over it, though it were a long time after." Larson rightly concludes from this that priests were few in Greenland.[59] It seems very unlikely that Greenland had a seminary or even a native clergy. Priests were sought in Iceland and Norway. Adam, of Bremen, writing in the middle of the eleventh century, tells of envoys coming from Iceland and Greenland to obtain priests in Bremen.[60] None of the Greenland bishops seem to have been born there.

To the progress of the Greenland colony the chief drawback, no doubt, was the climate. This eight or nine hundred years ago was no better than it is to-day, when means of commerce and communication are so vastly improved. Years might pass without the visit of a ship; yet somehow or other these sturdy Norsemen managed for hundreds of years to endure the strenuous life on the wind-swept coasts of an icebound land. Along the protected coasts where the soil thaws in summer grass grew abundantly, but not many kinds of vegetables could be produced.[61] Cabbage and lettuce grew quickly, but potatoes were unknown. Then, as to-day, there was little profit in raising grain, though many of the prosperous colonists tried it as an experiment. "The great majority in that country do not know what bread is, having

57 *Ibid.*, p. 433.
58 FISCHER, pp. 39, 40.
59 CHR., vol. V, p. 182.
60 *Ibid.*, vol. V, pp. 181, 182.
61 *Ibid.*, p. 177.

never seen it," says the writer of the *King's Mirror*.[62] But pasturage was good. The farmers raised cattle and sheep in large numbers and made butter and cheese in large quantities. The early inhabitants used small horses and magnificent dogs for their work. They were fond too of hunting hares, wolves, reindeer, and bears, both white and black, which were so plentiful in Greenland.[63] Whales, seals of various kinds, and walruses "which must not be eaten on fast days" were obtained in abundance along the coast.[64] Meat foods were plentiful; but the people suffered from want of fruits and grain as the letters of John XXI and the Bull of Alexander VI testify.[65]

Alexander VI, too, deplores the scarcity of bread, wine, and oil for sacramental purposes. Although these Popes describe conditions at a time when Catholic life in Greenland had almost disappeared, there is no doubt that the securing of sacramental materials was always a problem there.[66]

Wood was very scarce in Greenland. The birch trees rarely measured more than a few inches in diameter and there were no trees large enough to supply wood for furniture. Hence wood had to be imported from Norway or Wineland, whence also the Greenlanders got grapes. Iron and cloth were hard to obtain.[67] "Whatever comes from other lands is high in price for this land lies so distant from other countries that men seldom visit it. And whatever is needed to improve the land must be purchased abroad, both iron and all the timber in building houses. In return for these the merchants take back hides, sealskins, 'leather rope' made from the walrus, and teeth of walrus."[68]

These economic conditions explain what we read in papal documents concerning the collection of tithes. From the beginning the material support of the Greenland Church seems to have been obtained from parish property, hunting or fishing places, hot springs to which were attributed medicinal purposes, and

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62 The *King's Mirror*, p. 142.
63 *Ibid.*, p. 143 sq.; FISCHER, p. 30.
64 The *King's Mirror*, p. 140.
65 CHR., vol. III, pp. 220, 226.
66 *Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 180.
67 CHR., vol. V, pp. 179, 180.
68 The *King's Mirror*, p. 142.

fields in which cattle fed.[69] It seems, too, that the faithful were generous in contributing to the Church and to the poor.[70]

The tithes system was introduced into the Norse countries by Sigurd the Crusader (1111-1120) shortly before the Diocese of Gardar was founded.[71] A little later Peter's Pence, too, was sought in the dioceses of the North.[72] Some of the most valuable information we have concerning the Norse Church in America comes from papal documents about the collection of tithes and Peter's Pence.

When the Council of Lyons, in 1274, ordered the clergy to contribute every six years a tithe for the Holy Land, the Archbishop of Drontheim asked the Pope whether this decree applied to Gardar, since this diocese was so far from the Metropolitan See and the difficulties of navigation were so difficult that five years would be scarcely sufficient to make the journey.[73] John XXI replied that the archbishop himself should visit what dioceses he could, but that he might appoint commissaries to collect tithes in Gardar if he chose to do so.[74] These tithes were paid in some dioceses (certainly in Gardar) in milk, cheese, fish and (some) money, because money was not in general use. So far as was possible these things were exchanged for gold and silver to be sent to Rome.[75] From a letter written by Nicholas III to the Archbishop of Drontheim (January 31, 1279) we learn that the Archbishop did appoint a collector and that he gave to him power to absolve clerics from the irregularity or excommunication they had incurred from the non-payment of tithes. This privilege the Pope granted.[76] In June of the same year Nicholas III granted to the churches of Denmark and Sweden permission to use the revenues of the Church for the buying of altar wine and bread, even should nothing be left over for tithes.[77]

In reply to a letter of the Archbishop of Drontheim stating

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69 CHR., vol. V, p. 182.
70 De Roo, vol. II, p. 189.
71 Gjerset, vol. I, p. 355.
72 *Ibid.*, p. 349. The Peter Pence took its rise in England in the eighth century. During the Middle Ages it was confined almost entirely to England and other Northern nations.
73 CHR., vol. III, p. 217.
74 *Ibid.*, p. 218.
75 *Ibid.*, p. 220.
76 CHR., vol. III, p. 221.
77 *Ibid.*, p. 221.

that the only tithes that could be collected in Greenland were skins of musk ox, elk, or seal, and teeth ropes of whales, "which cannot be sold for any fair price," Martin IV (1281) directed him to exchange these things for either silver or gold and forward the same "for the succor of the Holy Land."[78] The sexennial tithe in 1327, was paid by the clergy of Greenland in walrus tusks, one of the most valuable Greenland exports. Bertranido Ortolis sold these to a Flemish merchant for 12 pounds and 14 sous Tournois, "a large sum for a diocese so small as that of Gardar."[79] In 1345 Archbishop Paul excused the Diocese of Gardar from payment of the tithes. And though in 1402 Boniface IX directed Bishop Jacob of Bergen to collect revenues in Gardar, there is no record of any payment being made after 1327.[80]

The deplorable condition of the Greenlanders after the Black Death made the payment of revenues impossible.[81] The letter of Nicholas V (1448) to the Bishops of Iceland and the Bull of Alexander VI (1492) appointing the Benedictine, Mathias, Bishop of Gardar, show how quickly and hopelessly the Church in Greenland declined when trade with the mother country ceased. But the papal documents cited above clearly indicate that during the flourishing period of Norse American history the Catholics of the remote See of Gardar were loyal and generous children of the Church.

III.

THE BISHOPS OF GARDAR (1124-1377).

In the preceding chapter an attempt was made to present some facts regarding the political, economic and geographical conditions which affected, and help towards an understanding of, the Norse Church in America. This section is rather an episcopology, including only those bishops who certainly resided in Greenland after the establishment of the See of Gardar. There is little historical material about most of them, and sometimes the statements are conflicting. If the facts given here are too

78 *Ibid.*, p. 222.
79 *Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 183.
80 Cf. chapter IV of this essay.
81 REEVES, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

chronicle-like and meagre it is because we omit mere conjectures and probabilities not given by the best authorities. One who has the imagination of an experienced historian and who can picture life in Greenland as it is reflected in the *Sagas* and descriptions given by travellers might call the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the flourishing period of Church History in Medieval America. The very fact that for two hundred and fifty years except for a few interruptions Gardar was not without a Bishop, that there are not a few papal documents testifying to an earnest Catholic life, and that there was a brisk trade between Greenland and European Norse countries, is evidence of progress.

Although the ancient scientific work called *Rymbegla* designates Eric Gnupson as the first bishop of the Greenland See, and although in the *Flatey Book* Eric's name is third on the list, there is no doubt that Arnold was the first duly appointed bishop of the newly erected See of Gardar.[82] The story of Arnold's appointment gives us an eloquent though sketchy pen-picture of the religious and political life in Greenland at the beginning of the twelfth century.[83] When Eric did not return from his Vinland voyage the people grew anxious and desired to have a bishop among them. The initiative towards filling the vacancy left by Eric came from a layman, Sokke Thorerson, who, according to Torfaeus, was probably a descendant of Eric the Red.[84] Calling the people together in the year 1125 he declared before the Althing that a country so great and flourishing as Greenland should not be without a duly erected episcopal See such as other nations had, that they needed a resident bishop whose authority would maintain discipline among the ministers of God, and whose dignity would restrain the waywardness and licentiousness of the people. He then asked for a liberal contribution from each for the establishment and maintenance of a Greenland diocese. If the enthusiasm and generosity of the people in response to this appeal is an indication of their religious fervor, Christianity had taken deep root in their hearts.

Immediately an embassy under the leadership of Einar, the

82 TORFAEUS, *Grönlanodia Antiqua*, pp. 217-240.
83 *Ibid.*, ch. XXVI, p. 218.
84 For the whole story see the *Saga* of Einar Sokkeson published in *Grönland's Historiske Mindesmaerker*, vol. II, p. 609 sq. Copenhagen, 1838 sq.

son of Sokke, made ready for a trip to Norway to lay before King Sigurd, the Crusader, their request. The King, much pleased with Einar's gift of tusk-ivory, walrus hide and white bear promised to give him assistance.[85] Sigurd asked Arnold, a clerk at the royal court, "to take up this task for God's sake and his prayers."[86] But Arnold was not eager to accept it. His excuses were his personal unfitness, his reluctance to leave his own home and country to go among a people uncivilized, violent, and unamenable to law.[87] But finally giving in to Sigurd's request he accepted on condition that Einar take an oath "to defend with all his power and authority the ecclesiastical rights, to preserve all movable and real estate given and consecrated to God, to protect it against violence, and punish assailers; finally to be the protector of all diocesan property."[88] Einar agreed to this. The incident, as well as the fact that it was Sigurd the King who selected Arnold for the See of Gardar, is evidence of the close union of the ecclesiastical and civil power in the Norwegian countries. When the archdiocese of Lund was erected in 1104, Greenland was placed under the metropolitan of this Province, who, in virtue of a decree of Gregory IV in 835, which was renewed by his successors, had the privilege of choosing and consecrating bishops for his suffragan dioceses.[89] Arnold therefore went to Lund where he was consecrated by Archbishop Asker (or Asser) in the year 1124.[90]

1. Arnold or Arnaldre 1124-1150.[91]

Not long after his consecration, Arnold in the company of Einar set out for Greenland. But unfavorable winds compelled them to sail for Iceland. Here Saemund Frode, the priest collector of the Ancient Eddas, invited the Bishop to pass the winter with him. It seems that Arnold remained in Iceland and was present at the Icelandic *Althing* in the summer of 1126. That same summer he continued his jourey to Greenland, landed at

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85 CHR., vol. V, pp. 184, 185.
86 TORFAEUS, ch. XXVI.
87 DE ROO, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 342.
88 WETZER and WELTE, *Kirchenlexicon*, vol. V, 1281; CHR., vol. V, p. 184.
89 FISCHER, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
90 GAMS, in his *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*, Ratisbon, 1873-86, gives c. 1123-1155 as the years of Arnold's episcopacy.
91 DE ROO, p. 343 sq.; TORFAEUS, pp. 240, 243.

Eiriksfjord on the south-west coast, and was welcomed by Sokke Thorerson and his fellow countrymen. He established his Episcopal See at Gardar in Eystrebygd where, according to good authority, he erected a cathedral and dedicated it to St. Nicholas.[92] We have already given a description of this cathedral and some account of the Church in Greenland. To what extent, the spread of Christianity and the erection of churches were due to Arnold's labors we can only conjecture, since no documents relating to the early growth of the Diocese of Gardar remain. It is no mere fancy, however, that pictures his episcopate as a difficult one. To hardships arising from a rigorous climate and dangerous travels were added, what Arnold had anticipated, the troubles occasioned by the unbridled spirit of the people he came to help.

At the same time that Bishop Arnold and Einar Sokkeson left Norway for Greenland, a certain Arnbiorn and companions set out in another vessel for the same destination.[93] But their ship was stranded on the rocky eastern coast of Greenland where it was found in 1130, by some fisherman under the leadership of Sigurd Nialson, a Greenlander. Scattered along the shore and beneath a crudely made tent they found the decayed bodies of Arnbiorn and his crew. In accordance with Greenland laws the spoils were divided among Sigurd and his fishermen, the bones of the dead were brought to Gardar for interment, and the carved ship was presented to the Church for the benefit of the souls of the dead.[94] The following year Arnbiorn's nephew, Ozsur, came from Norway to claim the ship and goods. But Arnold maintained that according to the laws of Greenland the wreck belonged to the finders, and that they had no intention of giving it up. The following spring Ozsur brought his claim before the *Althing* held at Gardar, but he was unsuccessful in his suit; for the people, abiding by the laws of their country, dismissed the Norwegian. In anger Ozsur damaged the ship he claimed, and set out for the western colony. Einar listened rather coldly to the Bishop's reminder of his oath to defend the right of the Church, but not long after when Ozsur with other Norwegians had returned to Gardar and was present at the consecration of

92 De Roo, p. 344.
93 Torfaeus, p. 225 sq.; De Roo, p. 369 sq.
94 Nansen, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 285—given from the *Flatey Book* account of Einar Sokkeson.

the Church at Langanes on Einar's Fjord, Einar slew Ozsur with an axe, while the Bishop and others were feasting in a house nearby. It is said that Arnold excused Einar's crime and only reluctantly permitted Ozsur's body to be buried near the Church of Langanes. A tumult followed during which both Greenlanders and Norwegians were slain.[95]

This whole story, told at length by Torfaeus, is illustrative of the revengeful and lawless spirit of the warlike Northmen who were not far removed from paganism.

Arnold, as a writer says, "seems to have been not only grasping and avaricious, but even to have been a consenting party to foul murder."[96] But perhaps in consideration of the times and circumstances Prof. Larson gives a more just estimate of his character when he says, "Bishop Arnold seems to have been a typical medieval prelate, humble and devout in private life, but zealous and unbending in all matters touching what he regarded as rights of his office and his diocese."[97]

That other churches besides those of Gardar and of Langanes were built during Arnold's episcopate we can only conjecture.

For some reason we do not know, perhaps because he no longer felt able to bear the heavy burdens of the Greenland See, Arnold resigned in 1150 and returned to Norway.[98] Two years previously (1148) Pope Eugenius III had sent his delegate Nicholas Breakspear to Norway to repair the evils and to inquire into the needs of the Scandinavian churches.[99] One result of his mission was the erection of the Archiepiscopal See of Drontheim in 1152.[100] Gardar then became a suffragan diocese to Drontheim. That same year the See of Hamar in Norway was erected and Arnold became its first bishop.[101] The year of his death is not known but certainly it was before 1164 when Orm, his successor became bishop of Hamar.[102]

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95 *Dublin Review*, Sept. 1849.
96 *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, vol. XV, p. 255.
97 CHR., vol. V, p. 185.
98 *Ibid.*, p. 185.
99 MANN, *op. cit.*, vol. IX, p. 240 sq.
100 *Ibid.*, p. 242. Cf. document LVIII in DE ROO, p. 587. The Bull of erection is not extant. Drontheim, also called Nidaros, is the modern Trondhjem.
101 TORFAEUS, p. 244. GAMS, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 334; STORM, *Islandske Annaler*, anno 1152. Christiania, 1888.
102 DE ROO, p. 379.

2. John I (1150-1187), surnamed Khul, according to all annals, succeeded to the bishopric of Gardar at the time of Arnold's resignation.[103] This date is generally accepted by later writers.[104] Torfaeus, however, is inclined to follow Arngrim who gives 1156 as the correct date, because Arnold's successor would not be appointed while he himself was still bishop of Gardar.[105] But, as De Roo says, Arnold's resignation was lawfully accepted by his metropolitan before it was by the apostolic delegate in 1152.[106] John died in 1187.[107] Nothing more of importance is known about him.

3. John II (1188-1209) was surnamed Smirill, i. e., the Hawk.[108] All later historians follow the Sagas in assigning his consecration to the year 1188.[109] As the diocese of Gardar was at this time a suffragan see to Drontheim, John II was consecrated and probably appointed by Archbishop Eystein. It is thought that he had served as clerk at the royal court, or, as the name *Sverresfostre* might indicate, that he lived in King Sverre's family.[110] On his first voyage to Greenland in 1189, John was compelled to land in Iceland and spend the winter there. He again visited Iceland, for what reason we do not know, in 1202 and 1203. The Saga of Bishop Paul of Skalhalt relates that in Bishop Paul's days "Bishop John came from Greenland and stayed for the winter in Eastfjord in Iceland. But in the time of the long fast (Lent) he travelled to Skalhalt, there to meet with Bishop Paul, and he arrived there on Maundy Thursday (April 3, 1203) and the two bishops consecrated on that day much holy chrism, and had together many confidential and learned conversations."[111] In 1205 Pope Innocent III ordered the collections of Peter's Pence in the province of Drontheim. It is probable that the Bishop of Greenland made his contribution but we have no documentary evidence of it.[112] John died in

103 Also given as Jon Knut (or Kut) and Jon I.
104 GAMS, *op. cit.*, p. 334.
105 TORFAEUS, p. 267.
106 DE ROO, p. 380.
107 TORFAEUS, p. 244.
108 Also called Jonas II, John Arnson, and Sverresfostre.
109 DE ROO, p. 380; CHR., vol. V, p. 185.
110 CHR., vol. V, p. 185.
111 CHR., p. 186; DE ROO, p. 381.
112 DE ROO, p. 383, and Document XXXVII, p. 543.

1209,[113] but it is likely that news of his death did not reach Norway until the following year.

4. Helgius, or Helgo (1212-1230), the fourth bishop of Gardar, was the son of Augmund Hrappakoll, a Norwegian merchant, who very likely had business interests in Greenland.[114] He arrived in Greenland in 1212, but Larson thinks he was consecrated in 1211, for according to an entry in the *Icelandic Annals* he spent the following winter at Flat-Isle.[115] De Roo's speculation anent the collection of funds for the Crusade ordered by Innocent III at the Council of Lateran in 1215, and the participation of Greenlanders in the Crusade is not without probability but it lacks historical evidence.[116] Helgius died in 1230.[117]

5. Nicholas (1234-c. 1240). For over three years after the death of Helgius the See of Gardar was without a bishop, probably because the metropolitan See of Drontheim was also vacant. Archbishop Sigurd was consecrated in 1231, but he did not appoint a bishop to Gardar till after the customary visit to Rome.[118] Although Nicholas was consecrated in 1234, he did not go to Greenland till 1239.[119] The religious life in Greenland as in the other suffragan dioceses of Drontheim demanded a bishop of tact, vigor, and zeal. A letter of Gregory IX to Sigurd, Archbishop of Drontheim dated May 16, 1237, clearly points out the condition of the clergy there: "It was in your name laid before us that both in the diocese and in the Province of Drontheim, there has grown up the habit of a detestable abuse,—namely, that priests living there contract marriages and behave as married lay people.... Preferring rather to perish than to obey, they pretend to be justified by long-lasting custom. We order that..... you endeavor to extirpate this abuse and apply the ecclesiastical censures to the rebellious, if there be any."[120] This same letter enables us to appreciate the material inconveniences and priva-

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113 GAMS, *op. cit.*, p. 334; EUBEL, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, vol. I, p. 270. Münster, 1898.
114 DE ROO, p. 384.
115 CHR., vol. V, p. 186.
116 DE ROO, pp. 384-386.
117 TORFAEUS, p. 245; EUBEL, *op. cit.*, p. 270.
118 CHR., vol. V, p. 186.
119 TORFAEUS, p. 245; EUBEL, *op. cit.*, p. 270.
120 Document given by DE ROO, No. LIX, p. 590. For further account of the religious condition in the Norse Church at this period see DE ROO, pp. 386-389; GJERSET, *History of the Norwegian People*, vol. I, pp. 350-354.

tions of the people of Greenland. "You state, beloved brother," writes Gregory IX to Sigurd, "that in some churches of your suffragans it is impossible to have the Holy Eucharist because of the scarcity of wheat, and that wine can never or hardly ever be had in those countries; and you ask whether it is allowed to deceive the people with some simulation of piety and to distribute to them mere oblations made of some other substance, and give them beer or some other beverage instead of wine. To this we answer that by no means can you do either of these things, because visible bread of wheat and wine of grapes, consecrated through the ministry of the priest by the word of the Creator must needs be the elements of this sacrament."[121] It is uncertain in what year Nicholas died; Eubel gives 1240. Larson says it is variously given as 1240, 1241, and 1242.[122]

6. Olaf, or Olaus (1246-1280) who succeeded Nicholas, was consecrated by Archbishop Sigurd in 1246,[123] but did not set out for Greenland until the following year. Important political changes occurred during Olaf's time. Greenland had been an independent republic except for a brief period when dependence on the Norwegian crown seems to have been recognized. When Cardinal William of Sabina came to Norway in 1247 to crown Hakon Hakonsson he was asked whether the Norwegian crown did not have right to Iceland. "It is unfair," he said, "that that land should not be subject to some king like all others in the world." The answer applied also to Greenland. According to the *Hakon Saga*, when Bishop Olaf set sail for Greenland he was ordered to persuade the Greenlanders to submit to the Norwegian crown. But it was not till 1261, that the Greenlanders acknowledged Hakon as their king.[124] In the fall of 1261, says the *Haakon Haakonsson Saga*, "Odd of Sjalte, Paul Magnusson, and Knarrar Leiv came from Greenland. They had been gone four winters. They said that the Greenlanders had resolved to pay the King taxes as well as fines for manslaughter..... so that the King now received wergeld as far north as under the polar star."[125] The year following this Bishop Olaf set out for Norway, but be-

121 Document No. LX, in DE ROO, p. 590.
122 CHR., vol. V, p. 186.
123 EUBEL, p. 270; TORFAEUS, p. 245.
124 CHR., pp. 186-187; GJERSET, vol. I, p. 438.
125 GJERSET, op. cit., vil. I, p. 438.

ing shipwrecked on the coast of Iceland and forced to remain there for two years, he did not reach his destination till 1264. Here he remained till 1271, assisting in 1267 in the conferring of the pallium on Archbishop Hakon. Of his life after his return to Greenland until his death in 1280 we know nothing.[126]

7. Thored or Theodore (1288-1314). Gams and Eubel say that Thored was elected in 1280, eight years before his consecration.[127] De Roo thinks this improbable since there would hardly be such a long delay before his consecration. But the conflict between the Archbishop and the chapter over the right to choose bishops for the Drontheim suffragan sees may account for the long delay. The question was not settled in 1296, when, through the mediation of the king, it was agreed that the Archbishop should select the candidates with the advice and consent of the chapter.[128] In 1309, or possibly a year or two later, Thored returned to Norway where he died in 1314.[129]

8. Arne or Arnius (1314-1346 or 1349) was consecrated by Eilaf Korte, Archbishop of Drontheim, in the same year that his predecessor died, and set out for Gardar the following year.[130] As of other Gardar bishops we know little of Arne, but from reliable sources we do know something of the pathetic material condition of the flock. Communication with Norway in the fourteenth century became more and more irregular. The few tithes paid to the collections for the Holy See were offered in walrus teeth which were taken to Norway and there sold, as was the case in 1327, to merchants.[131] A false report of Bishop Arne's death reached Norway and occasioned the appointment of a successor. Paul, the Archbishop of Drontheim, in 1343 consecrated John Skalli bishop of Gardar. But before John set out for Greenland the error was discovered. In 1358 John was transferred to the diocese of Holar, Iceland.[132] It seems that John never visited the See of Gardar to which he had been irregularly appointed, although the irregularity would be removed by the death

126 TORFAEUS, pp. 247-248; STORM, *Islandske Annaler*, anno 1271, p. 138.
127 DE ROO, p. 404; CHR., vol. V, p. 187.
128 CHR., vol. V, p. 187; DE ROO, p. 406.
129 EUBEL, p. 270; TORFAEUS, p. 251; DE ROO, p. 406.
130 DE ROO, pp. 406-411, and Documents XXXVIII and XXXIX.
131 EUBEL, p. 270; CHR., vol. V, p. 187.
132 DE ROO, p. 419.

of Arne.[133] Gams and Storm (*Islandske Annaler*, anno 1368) as well as others state that the diocese of Gardar was vacant nineteen years until the consecration of Alf in 1368. This would indicate that Bishop Arne died in 1349.[134]It was during the residence of Arne that Ivar Bardsson came to Greenland (1341?) where for some years he served as steward at the Cathedral church, and probably, after the death of the bishop, as administrator of the diocese.[135] The Black Death which swept into Norway in 1349 so crippled commerce that only a few vessels in the king's service attempted to go to the colonies. The plague robbed the church of her ministers. "All but one Norwegian bishop and one canon of the metropolitan chapter of Drontheim fell victims to the epidemic."[136] It may have been due to this devastating scourge that John Skalli did not go to Gardar after the death of Bishop Arne and that for nineteen years Gardar was without a resident bishop.

9. Alf or Alfus (1365-1377) a cleric of Bergen, was consecrated in 1365.[137] Because Alf, after becoming bishop, transferred to his nephew and to the Monastery of St. Michael, a house built with his own money, Larson infers that Alf had been a "man of affairs" who entered the clerical state somewhat late in life.[138] Of Alf's ministry after his arrival in Greenland in 1368 we know nothing. The storm driven ship "Olafssud" that arrived in Norway in 1383 brought the news that Bishop Alf had died five years before.[139] Eubel, Gams, Torfaeus and others give 1378, as the year of Alf's eath. Larson and others say that Alf died in 1377. This apparent discrepancy is probably due to taking the expressions "two years" and "five years" given in the annals as exact rather than approximate numbers.[140] Alf, as far

133 The *Congres Scientifique des Catholiques*, 1894, *Sec. Sciences*, p. 180 sq. gives 1343 as the date of his death. But this is probably wrong. Cf. Larson in the CHR., vol. V, p. 188, who gives 1349.

134 CHR., vol. V, p. 178; FISCHER, p. 47.

135 GJERSET, vol. I, p. 202; DE ROO, p. 415.

136 EUBEL, following GAMS, gives 1368 as the year of his consecration. LARSON gives 1365, and DE ROO produces a document (LXII. a, p. 592) from the *Codex Diplomaticus Monasterii Sancti Michaelis* written by Alf in 1366 in which he calls himself "brother Alfus, by the grace of God Bishop of Greenland."

137 CHR., vol. V, p. 188.

138 DE ROO, p. 421.

139 *Ibidem.*

140 CHR., vol. V, p. 191.

as we know from authentic sources, was the last Bishop of Gardar who actually resided there. Not long before the death of Bishop Alf (perhaps in 1377), the Holy See transferred the right of appointment to the See of Gardar from Drontheim to the Roman Curia.[141] Appointments to the Greenland See continued to be made for more than a century but most of these titular bishops of Gardar certainly never saw Greenland, and there is so much doubt about the residence of the few who, according to some probably lived for at least a time in Greenland, that it seems better to close the list of resident bishops with Alf.

IV.

THE PERIOD OF DECLINE.

The causes that brought about the decay and extinction of the Norse colony in Greenland necessarily affected the Church. As some writers have insinuated that the decline and extinction of Christianity in Greenland was due in a large measure to the weakness of faith and the inclination to paganism, we treat the causes of decline in some detail.

The decline of the Greenland colony began with the submission to Norway in 1261.[142] Colonial trade was made a royal monopoly, so that only a few trading vessels in the king's service could go to the colonies. All private enterprise was crushed, and in consequence commercial intercourse with Greenland grew rarer and finally ceased. When in the fourteenth century the Hanseatic merchants drove Norwegian commerce from the seas, Greenland was completely cut off from the mother country, whence she had derived many necessaries of life.[143]

The *Icelandic Annals* for 1346 tell us that the *Knorr*, the royal merchant vessel, left Greenland for Bergen "with a large cargo, and in good condition" but did not return to Greenland till 1355.[144] This trading vessel was sent out by King Magnus Ericsson with an expedition under Paul Knutsson in order to preserve

141 CHR., vol. V, p. 189.
142 GJERSET, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 202.
143 FISCHER, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
144 DE ROO, vol. II, pp. 415, 416. STORM accepts the royal command as genuine. Cf. *Vinlandsreise*, p. 73 sq. Cf. FISCHER, p. 47, note 6.

Christianity in Greenland. "We do this," declared the King, "for the glory of God, for the sake of our soul, and for the honor of our ancestors who have founded and kept up to our time Christianity and colonization in Greenland, and we cannot let their work become useless to-day."[145] It seems that the *Knorr* did not again return to Norway until 1363 or 1364, when it brought back to his fatherland Ivar Bardsson, who for over twenty years had given his service to the diocese of Gardar, and who is one of our best authorities for the history of Greenland at this period.[146] After the *Knoor* was wrecked north of Bremen in 1367, it seems that no vessel plied between Greenland and Norway until the ship *Olafssud* brought to Norway in 1383 the news of an Eskimo attack upon the settlement and of the death of Bishop Alf six years before.[147] The last date given in the *Icelandic Annals* for the arrival of a foreign vessel in Greenland is 1406 when Thorstein Hedmingson, Snorri Torfeson, and Thorgrimr Sölveson were wrecked on a voyage from Norway to Iceland.[148] These rare notices of the comings and goings of ships help us to realize better than anything else how much the Greenlanders must have suffered in their barren country when deprived of communication with the countries that supplied them with the means necessary for a civilized life.

One cause of lack of communication with the outside world may have been the increasing volume of ice masses off the shores of Greenland.[149] Torfaeus records that the Greenland seas were unusually rough and stormy during the ninth decade of the fourteenth century and that many ships perished.[150] The letter of Alexander VI (1492?) regarding the Greenland See of Gardar says "on account of the freezing of the sea no ship is supposed to have touched there during the past eighty years.[151]

Moreover the Black Death and conflicts with the Eskimos

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145 FISCHER, pp. 47 and 22.

146 DE ROO, p. 421; O'GORMAN, *American Church History Series*, vol. IX, p. 6. New York, 1897.

147 FISCHER, p. 48.

148 CHR., vol. V, p. 190. The account of the dangers to navigation by these icefields is described in CRANTZ, *History of Greenland*, vol. I, Bk. I., ch. 88. London, 1820.

149 TORFAEUS, *Grönlandis Antiqua*, ch. XXX.

150 CHR., vol. III, p. 226.

151 GASQUET, F. A., *The Black Death of 1348 and 1349* pp. 76-80. London, 1908.

during the fourteenth century greatly reduced the Norse population of Greenland. The Black Death, which spread to Norway in 1349, gave a severe blow to commerce. Although we have no contemporary evidence that the plague reached America, it is not unlikely that it did, as some writers believe, have its victims there.[152]

Just when and why the Eskimos began to attack the Norse Greenlanders we do not know. There is still divergence of opinion among scholars about the time of the appearance of the Eskimos in Greenland and their relation with the Christian inhabitants of the Island. These Eskimos are called Skraelings, in Norse literature.[153] First mention is made in the *Eyrbygg Saga* where we are told that "Snorri's son, Thorbrand, fell in battle, when they fought with the men of Skraeling in Wineland."[154] It seems, too, that traces of this same race of people were found in Greenland by the early colonists. The reliable author of the *Islandingabok*, Are Frode, who lived in the latter part of the eleventh century, says that the colonists "found remnants of human dwelling places both eastward and westward in the land, stone weapons and fragments of boats, from which it was evident that the same people who inhabit Vinland, and whom the people of Greenland call Skraelings, had also sojourned there."[155] But mention of their actual occupation of Greenland is not made till 1266, when they inhabit the island some distance north of the Western Settlement[156] According to the report of Ivar Bardsson the Skraelings attacked and destroyed the Western Settlement about 1345, and from that time on it would seem that there were frequent conflicts between the two peoples of Greenland.[157] One of the objects of Paul Knutsson's expedition to Greenland in 1355 for the preservation of Christianity was "death to the Eskimos."[158] The *Icelandic Annals* for 1379 record another attack of the Skraelings: "The men of Skraeling attacked the men of

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152 *Skraeling*, from O. N. *Skral* meaning *puny, small;* cf. GJERSET, vol. I, p. 198.
153 FISCHER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p.
154 Quoted by GJERSET, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 198.
155 In CHR., vol. V, p. 190, references to *Hauksbok*, 500; cf. *Meddelelser om Grönland*, XXXI, 23.
156 FISCHER, p. 62.
157 *Ibid.*, p. 47; TORFAEUS, p. 253.
158 Given in the CHR., vol. III, p. 223-225.

Greenland, killed eighteen, and captured two boys, whom they made slaves."[159] Many writers conclude from all this that the Skraelings were one of the chief factors in the extermination of the Christians. A letter of Nicholas V to the Bishops of Skalholt and Holar in Iceland, dated September 25, 1448, summarizes reports he has received regarding the ruin of the Church in Greenland. "From the natives and dwellers in Greenland.....a sorrowful cry has come to our ears and saddened our heart. These people, nearly six hundred years ago, received the Faith .....and kept it unchanged and pure in obedience to the laws of the Holy Roman Church and the Apostolic See. After a time animated by unfailing devotion they built many churches besides a fine cathedral in which the worship of God fas carried on until within thirty years.....barbarous people from the neighboring heathen shores sent ships to invade the island. The land was laid waste with fire and sword, churches were everywhere destroyed in all the island, said to be of vast exent. Only nine parish churches escaped. Many unhappy people of both sexes....were carried away as prisoners. Nevertheless ....many of them returned to their native country....and rebuilt what the invaders had destroyed....The misfortunes endured left them in such a starving and necessitous condition that they had no means of supporting a bishop and priests....and were without the comforts of a pastor for thirty years." The letter goes on to say that the Holy Father, moved by the Greenlanders' petition for priests, but not having perfect knowledge of the above circumstances, commands one or both of the Iceland Bishops to investigate the conditions in Greenland to learn if the report be true. If the state of things permit they are to ordain priests for the administration of the parishes, and after seeking the advice of their metropolitan they may appoint and consecrate some qualified person as bishop.

Nansen declares outright that "this document must be entirely discarded as historical evidence so far as the statement about Greenland is concerned"; fir it betrays ignorance of facts and is addressed "not to bishops really officiating in Iceland but to two impostors, Marcellus and Matthias, who by means of false representations had induced Pope Nicholas V to consecrate them

159 NANSEN, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 114.

bishops of Iceland."[160] In these conclusions Nansen follows Storm as does Fischer.[161] But Fischer adds, "Dr. Ehrle (in *Die Päpstliche Abtheilung*, p. 15, note 1) is right in asserting that in all main points the letter is confirmed by the Brief of Alexander VI, and, we may add, does not conflict in the slightest with other trustworthy anuthorities—Ivar Bardsson and the *Icelandic Annals*."[162]

Dr. Fridtjof Nansen rejects the view that the Norse colonists were exterminated by the Eskimos.[163] The Eskimos are a peaceable people who would not attack, much less destroy, their Norse neighbors. Nansen doubts even well authenticated accounts of attacks, for instance, the seizing of two boys and killing eighteen men. What really happened in Greenland, according to him, is this: The decline of commercial relations with the European countries brought on by the royal monopoly of trade, the union of Norway with Denmark and the influence of Hanesatic League effected economic and physiological conditions that compelled the Greenlanders to unite with the Eskimos. Greenland does not produce cereals. When flour and bread could no longer be obtained from Europe the people had to live by fishing, sealing and cattle raising. But meat and fat alone would not do; lack of hydrocarbons reduces the vital forces. Fecundity and productiveness decreased and the population dwindled. Moreover, the people could not get iron for implements and weapons, or the kind of wood necessary for larger boats. When they could no longer subsist on what they accepted Eskimo ways.

"The inhabitants of Greenland voluntarily forsook the true faith and religion of the Christians, and, having abandoned all good morals and true virtues, turned to the people of America (ad Americae populos se converterunt)."[164] This passage is from the *Annals* of Bishop Addson under the year 1343, written in Iceland before 1637. Nansen admits that it is not known where Addson got this statement and that the statements following this one are "entirely myths and inventions taken from Lyschan-

160 FISCHER, pp. 51-53.
161 FISCHER, p. 52.
162 NANSEN, *op. cit.*, vol. II, ch. XI.
163 NANSEN, vol. II, pp. 96-100.
164 *Ibid.*, p. 100, quoting *Grönl. Hist. Mind.*, III, p. 137.

der."[165] In view of this statement and the fact that Storm regards the account as spurious, one suspects that the only reason why Nansen quotes the passage at all is that it fits in with his theory of wholesale defection of the Christians to Eskimo paganism.

Moreover, Nansen's rejection of Ivar Bardsson's first hand evidence of the fate of the Western Colony is based on unconvincing arguments. Ivar reports: "Now Skraelings possess the whole Western Settelment; there are indeed horses, goats, cattle, sheep, all wild, and no people either Christian or heathen."[166] Nansen does not admit the interpretation that the Western Settlement was destroyed by Skraelings; for (1) cattle could not live without man's aid; (2) the Skraelings would have killed the cattle for food.[167] Rather, the Greenlanders mingled and intermarried with the Eskimos until all traces of identity disappeared.[168] "Through all notices of Greenland, especially those of religious sources, runs after the fourteenth century a cry of apostasy."[169]

That there were defections the letter of Alexander VI, 1492, testifies.[170] "In his (Matthias') intense zeal for those who have fallen away, for the recovery of those who have lapsed, and for the suppression of error, he has now resolved to set out upon this most dangerous undertaking." And in the same letter we read, "No resident bishop or priest has ruled the Church for some eighty years past. Therefore, on account of the lack of priests, it has come to pass that very many people of that diocese who were formerly Catholics have, alas, denied the sacred baptism they had received." But neither this letter nor Crantz[171] whom Nansen quotes with approval, suggests such general apostasy as Nansen believes took place. The very letter of Pope Alexander VI quoted above, whose statements, Nansen declares, "agree remarkably well with what we gather from other historical sources."[172] "It is said that the people of that land (Greenland)

165 *Ibid.*, p. 101.
166 *Ibid.*, p. 108. IVAR BARDSSON, in *Grönl. Hist. Mind.*, vol. III, p. 258.
167 NANSEN, p. 109.
168 *Ibid.*, p. 104.
169 *Ibid.*, p. 106.
170 CHR., vol. III, p. 226.
171 CRANTZ, vol. I, pp. 242 sq.
172 NANSEN, p. 121.

have no other relic of the Christian religion than a corporal they exhibit once a year, upon which the body of Christ was consecrated by the last priest who was resident one hundred years ago."[173] Even should there be some exaggeration in this beautiful story, it at least tells us that the old faith had not died out among the unfortunate children of the Church in that neglected and distressed land. Their situation was not unlike that of those faithful children of Japan who, nearly three hundred years after their ancestors had been converted to the faith by St. Francis Xavier, although for the greater part of that time they had been without priests or teachers, still possessed some Catholic traditions and practices. Shut off from European civilization, walled in by barriers of ice in a land of hardships, the Norse Christians of Greenland, children of the Vikings, still kept aglow the spark of Faith that in earlier and happier days had flamed up brightly in Medieval America.

V.

THE TITULAR BISHOPS OF GADAR.

For the sake of completeness we give the following list of bishops appointed to the See of Gardar after the death of Bishop Alf, the last resident bishop. With one or two exceptions it seems certain that these bishops never resided in Greenland or even went there, although their office was more than titular. As has been noted, from the latter part of the fourteenth century appointments to the See of Gardar were made by the Roman Curia instead of by the Archbishop of Drontheim. To this arrangement Larson seems to attribute the apparent decline of active zeal for the Church in America, because Rome failed to choose men whose families had mercantile interests in Greenland.[174] However that may be, the lamentable conditions in that country during the fifteenth and early sixteenth century made residence almost impossible and perhaps even unnecessary. The fact that Rome continued to appoint bishops during this period

173 Brief of Alexander VI, 1492, given in the CHR., vol. III, p. 226. PASTOR, L., *History of the Popes*, vol. VI, p. 158. London, 1902.
174 CHR., vol. V, pp. 190, 191.

shows that the Church never abandoned the hope of keeping up Catholic life in Greenland.

As the titular bishops had little or no influence on the Church in Medieval America and as we know so little about these men we give but a very brief record of them.[175]

HENRY. There is disagreement concerning the date of his consecration and the fact of his going to Greenland; the probable date of consecration is 1385.[176] In 1394 he was transferred to the diocese of the Orkneys where he had been residing for several years. He died in 1396.

GEORGIUS was appointed by the Avignon Pope, Clement VII. According to the Avignon Document given by De Roo, Georgius died before 1389.[177]

PETER STARAS, the same document informs us, was appointed by Clement VII to Gardar in 1389. Peter Staras was a Franciscan, a priest "of religious zeal and honest life." John IV was consecrated for the Orkneys in 1384; but "for the better utility of both sees" he was transferred to Gardar by the Roman Pontiff Boniface IX in 1394.

BERTHOLD, a Franciscan, was appointed by Boniface IX, February 25, 1401. Although documents show that he used the title "Bishop of Gardar" as late as 1426 other appointments were made during that time.

PETER, Bishop of Strengness in Sweden was transferred to Gardar in 1402, but this appointment was immediately revoked.

ESKIL is mentioned as a recently deceased Bishop of Gardar by John XXIII in a document dated 1411.[178] From this document it seems that Eskil died in Greenland.

JACOB PETERSSON TREPPE, a Danish Franciscan, according to the document mentioned above was appointed by John XXIII to succeed Eskil. For a time Bishop Treppe acted as vicar-general

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175 This record is compiled from EUBEL *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, vol. I, p. 270, and vol. II, pp. 174, 175; L. M. LARSON'S very reliable article in the *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. V, pp. 101-102; and DE ROO'S *Discovery of America before Columbus*, vol. II, pp. 422-469. Dr. Larson obtained his brief notices from the *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, a source the writer of this essay was able to consult only in part.

176 DE ROO, *op. cit.*, pp. 422-424.

177 Document LXII, b, in DE ROO, p. 592.

178 Document LXIII c, in DE ROO, p. 597.

and coadjutor of the Bishop of Roeskilde near Copenhagen. He died before 1425.

ROBERT RYNGMAN, an English Franciscan, was appointed to Gardar on May 30, 1425, by Pope Martin V.

GOBELINUS BOLANT, a German Augustinian friar was appointed by Eugene IV in 1431, but was transferred the following year to the See of Borglum.

JOHN ERLER DE MOYS, a German Franciscan, was appointed in July 4, 1432. The *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* mentions a Bishop Nicholas or Michael, who died in 1433.[179]

BARTHOLOMEW of St. Hippolite, a Dominican licentiate of Holy Scripture, succeeded to the See of Gardar in 1433. He died in 1440 or shortly before.

GREGORY, his successor attended a council held in Oslo in 1440 and another at Bergen in 1450. The year of his death is not known. That Boniface succeeded him in 1450 lacks sufficient authority.

ANDREW MUS, a Danish ecclesiastic who had served as an official in the Diocese of Skalholt and, after 1476, as Vicar of Linköping in Sweden, appears in the documents as Bishop of Gardar in 1466. De Roo thinks he became bishop in 1462. He died before 1476, in which year he was succeeded by

JACOB BLAA, a Danish Dominican, who was appointed in 1481 according to Eubel, in 1483 according to the *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*. He resigned in 1492.[180] That same year Innocent VIII appointed

MATTHIAS KNUTSSON, a Danish Benedictine, bishop of Gardar. Alexander VI confirmed this appointment commanding "the clerics and notaries of the apostolic chamber to give to the said bishop all such briefs and bulls without payment or requirement of any tax or any fees or gratuities ordinarily paid on similar accounting. Let all be done free because he is very poor."[181] It seems that Bishop Matthias never had the opportunity of fulfilling his intention to go to Greenland.

VINCENTIUS PETERSSON KAMPE, a Franciscan, was appointed in 1519 or 1520 by Leo X at the request of Christian II, King of

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179 CHR., vol. V, p. 192.
180 *Ibid.*, p. 193.
181 CHR., vol. III, p. 227. PASTOR, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, p. 159.

Denmark, who was planning to send out a fleet to restore civilization in Greenland. The proposed expedition never set out. Eubel says that Vincent's name is again mentioned in 1537, and DeRoo accepts the opinion that he became coadjutor to the Bishop of Roeskilde in the isle of Sjaeland.[182]

At this time Lutheranism was introduced into the Scandinavian countries, Bishops were no longer appointed and Greenland was forgotten. Bishop O'Gorman says that in 1520 Eric Walkendorf, the last Roman Catholic Archbishop of Drontheim, sought to gather information of the long-unheard-of See of Gardar, with the intention of renewing communication with the lost suffragan; but "the Reformation swept over Norway, ended the hierarchy there, and then silence and oblivion fell upon Greenland."[183]

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182 DE ROO, pp. 468, 469.
183 O'GORMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

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KNOW-NOTHINGISM IN BALTIMORE
1854-1860

Before describing the peculiar phase that Know-Nothingism assumed in Baltimore—it is well to state in a general way the origin of the movement and the conditions in Baltimore when nativism gained its first converts there.

During the Revolution the aid of volunteers from abroad was welcomed and that of all aliens who had settled here, whilst productive of some bickering was greatly desired. We have nothing to show that during the first decade of our country's history, there was any ill-will manifested towards the presence of foreigners, or objections even to their holding office. The nation was young and the country was only too anxious to increase in population and settlements. The first traces of unfriendliness to foreigners occurred during the hostilities between England and France and led up to the odious "Alien and Sedition Acts" of 1798, passed by a Federalist Congress and signed by a Federalist President. This gave the Democratic party that control over the immigrant which it has never since shown signs of relaxing. Though these laws brought about the downfall of the Federalist party, adversity taught it no lesson, for long after when it was an insignificant faction confined to the New England States, the Hartford Convention composed of Federalists, emphasized the previous position of the party by calling for stricter naturalization laws.

The idea of exclusion—sometimes latent, sometimes active—has been present at all times with all nations. There has always and everywhere existed, to put it mildly, an attitude towards the "Barbarian," the Stranger, the Gentile, the Outlander.

For two decades after the War of 1812, there does not appear to have been any public pronouncement against foreigners. There was no organized opposition until the formation, at New York in 1835, of the first Native American party. The interval had been a period of recuperation, of growth and as it was latterly called, the "Era of Good Will." There grew up, however, opposition to the new constituent in American public life of which conspicuous exponents were the followers of Andrew Jackson,

whose support was in no small measure drawn from the "foreign element" which had begun to make itself felt in the larger cities. The object of this new party was to wrest the city offices from the hands of immigrants, of whom the Tammany Society, no longer composed, as in the days of Burr, of small traders, then to a large extent consisted. This party met its death before the mayorality election in 1837. But it did not take long for the nativist creed to spread elsewhere. From New York it passed quickly through the chain of little towns connecting Philadelphia with the metropolis. The Quaker City was not unprepared for its reception. Religious feeling was at a high pitch. Catholics were always very numerous in Philadelphia. St. Joseph's in that city was at one time the only Catholic Church in which mass was publicly celebrated in the Colonies. Irish Catholics and the nativist societies had frequent encounters, perpetuated a number of outrages upon one another, and provoked riots in which much property (including two Catholic Churches) was destroyed, and the peace of the city seriously endangered.

In 1843 with the aid of the foreign population the Democrats, having carried the City of New York, followed the orthodox methods of the day by rewarding their immigrant supporters, much to the dissatisfaction of the descendants of the fathers who had served the party well. The malcontents formed what for the time might be termed a reform organization. They called it the American Republican party, but subsequently (1845) changed the name to Native American party. In the city elections of 1844 it achieved success, but by 1847 the party had disappeared the way of many so-called reform organizations.

From this party proceeded the first wave of nativism that reached Baltimore. No doubt there were always in that city a number of individuals holding principles embraced by the several native American societies and parties, but hitherto there had been no organization. That want was soon filled. Nativism was publicly adopted by the *Baltimore Clipper* when on November 5th, 1844, it announced that in the future it would support the American Republican party,—a proclamation which we are told, was hailed with joy by many citizens of Baltimore and of the adjacent counties. The work of organizing proceeded rapidly. Meetings were held, clubs formed, tracts distributed,

and on March 13th of the next year an address announcing the objects of this party was issued. Amongst these were, correction of abuses generally, suppression of election frauds, banishment of foreign influences and spreading of American feeling and interests. The strength of the party was tested in the succeeding election. Duncan, whom they nominated to represent the fourth district in Congress received 1147 votes against Giles (Democratic) 5804 and Kennedy (Whig) 4962.

Out of the movement of 1844 arose a secret society known as the Order of the United Americans. This body was never known to have taken any more active part in politics than that of supporting such of its members as appeared in the field. It did not rise to the dignity of what to-day would be called a "Bloc." It probably was never anything more serious than any one of the many mutual benefit societies of our own day. Historically, however, it becomes important for it serves to bridge over the gap that existed just prior to the birth of its powerful and dangerous secret successor.

For a few years the animosity against aliens was suffered to slumber. Apparently it had died out. But in 1852 an oath-bound secret society sprang up. It was known by various names,—"Sons of the Sires," "Order of the Star Spangled Banner," and others more or less fanatic. What the real name of the organization was and what its purposes, were things of which the rank and file were for a long time allowed to remain in absolute ignorance. To repeated inquiries there was the ever-ready and mysterious reply, "I know nothing," whence the nickname derisively applied to the party. The professed *raisons d'etre* of the new party were, the rapid growth of the Catholic Church in America, and the aggressiveness of its powerful and popular head, Archbishop Hughes; the great influx during 1848, 1849 and 1850 of immigrants, some flying from destitution and famine, others forced to seek refuge from unsuccessful revolutionary movements abroad; the active part that foreigners took in politics, their insatiable greed for spoils, their free thought and socialism. For some time this secret society refrained from sending a ticket into the field, contenting itself with the electoral proscription of all Catholics and all immigrants. Naturally this method of throwing a large vote now with the Whigs, now with

the Democrats caused a great deal of confusion and quite unsettled all political calculations. It withdrew local politics from the ward-worker's category of exact sciences.

The ability of this unknown quantity to elect or defeat such candidates as it pleased greatly increased its confidence in itself and as a matter of course it did not take long before the Know Nothings aspired to act together as a political party with a definite platform and with candidates of their own. Their first attempts were made and their first successes gained in their strongholds, Philadelphia, New Orleans and Baltimore.

In Baltimore Know Nothingism found a fertile soil where the memory of the 1844 nativist movement still clung. In 1839 the anti-Catholic sentiments of a portion of the people of that city led to an attack upon the Carmelite convent, and to any number of outrages of more or less note. An atmosphere of lawlessness which was always most invigorating to nativist workers had developed to an alarming extent. True, according to Niles a riotous spirit had spread all over the country, which was all the more remarkable because it did not follow upon the last war with England, but twenty years after and succeeding a period of external peace and internal prosperity.

I quote from Niles' Register (Sept. 5, 1835):

> During the last and present week we have cut out and laid aside more than *five hundred* articles relating to various *excitements* now acting on the people of the United States public and private. *Society seems everywhere unhinged* and the demon of blood and slaughter has been let loose upon us. We have the slave question in many different forms, including the proceedings of *kidnappers* and *man-stealers* and others belonging to the free negroes, the proscription and prosecution of gamblers; with mobs growing out of *local matters*—a great collection of acts of violence of a *private* or *personal* nature ending in death; and regret to believe also that an awful political outcry is about to be raised to rally the poor against the rich! We have executions and murders and riots to the utmost limits of the Union! The character of our countrymen seems suddenly changed and thousands interpret the law in their own way—sometimes in one case one way and in another, another way, guided apparently only by their own will.

Just when Baltimore gained the name "mob-town" is not clear. The attack upon the Massachusetts regiment at the beginning of the Civil War was the dramatic culmination of a riotous spirit that for a long period had been remarked.

Much of the lawlessness was due to the lack of proper organization, the need of adequate powers and forces. The government of the city was but slightly superior to that of the average county of to-day.The State of Maryland had no militia whatsoever, the city of Baltimore had but a few volunteer companies. Its police were under the nominal superintendence of the high constable, but under the actual control of the mayor; and the latter was so overburdened with other cares that with the best of will he could not direct them. The force was small. The system of making compulsory rounds, or beats had not been introduced. Patrolmen spent their time on duty in the little watch-boxes that were scattered throughout the town. There they would await occurrences that called for their services, and thither outraged citizens had to rush when in search of help. Many were the times when organized gangs of roughs made life within a watch-box unpleasant. Inadequacy of police protection made the carrying of fire-arms universal. "One," so wrote Dr. William Hand Browne, the Archivist of Maryland, "would as soon have thought of going out at night without his hat as without his revolver." The frequency with which larger fire-arms were displayed is surprising, and we read with amazement of the facility with which rioters brought cannon to bear upon objective points.

The police and fire alarm telegraph had not been invented. A regularly organized fire department did not exist but its place was inadequately filled by a superfluity of volunteer companies, whose rivalry, originally friendly, led every now and then to armed encounters, if not to bloody riots. As conflagrations in the ordinary course of events did not occur with sufficient frequency to satisfy disorderly instincts, resort was had by the more mischievous and malicious to false alarms, and even to incendiarism.

Election rows were the order of the day. There were fierce encounters during the exciting Harrison-Van Buren contest. There were desperate bank riots in the year 1835, in which the

houses of Reverdy Johnson and Nevitt Steele—both leaders of the Maryland bar, Johnson a man of national reputation—were sacked, and their valuable libraries put to the torch. The love of disorder for its own sake had reached a very high pitch.

From this recital it will be seen that Know-Nothingism found a fertile soil in Baltimore. Besides lawlessness and the lack of means to counteract it, every department of the city government was rife with corruption. Elections were carried on in the most fraudulent high-handed and outrageous manner. The votes were taken by wards and not as now by precincts of not more than five hundred voters. It was customary for judges of election to locate the polls near to one another for the convenience of such voters as cared to exercise the elective franchise in more than one ward. Not infrequently unpleasant if not dangerous localities were selected. Frauds in registering and in polling and in the count were then practiced on a colossal scale.

Lest they might fall into the hands of wily managers of the opposite party, an ingenious practice had sprung up, of seizing the intemperate voters of one's own party just a few days before and taking charge of them over election. About 1850 this practice underwent a gradual change. Gangs of roughs of all parties ranged the streets to capture the intemperate of whatever politics, whether voters or not, later on whether intemperate or not, and "coop" them up, as the expression went, until the day of election when they were voted in squads at the various polls of the city. These press-gangs, exercised no discrimination whatsoever but seized whomsoever they could find, until finally the best citizens were in danger of being "cooped." Mayor Jerome was at one time indebted only to the fleetness of his horse for his escape. Woodberry, in his life of Edgar Allen Poe, relates that in October, 1849, Poe dined with military friends, became intoxicated, was captured by politicians and then voted at several polling places. All these efficient means Know-Nothingism found on its advent. It invented nothing but made thorough use of all the materials that were at its disposal, and carried that use to the highest potentialities.

The nativist secret societies were just the thing which the large number of rowdies needed. They could now plan and commit their outrages under the cover of a secret order, whilst the plane of their operations was raised,—they were "in politics."

The character of the first so-called "American" clubs in Baltimore varied. That some contained refined and educated people cannot be doubted. To these probably belonged those who had taken part in the movements of the earlier American party. The influence of clubs made up of disaffected spoils-seeking factions of the Whigs was not good, whilst those containing the organized rowdy element,—and these were the most numerous—were bad beyond description.

The first Know-Nothing mass meeting was held in Baltimore August 18, 1853 in Monument Square and was attended by about five thousand persons. It was addressed entirely by Philadelphians. The principles advocated were that Americans should rule America, the public schools should continue to be maintained upon the same lines, restrictions should be placed upon immigration, resistance should be made to the curtailment of the freedom of speech, to a union of Church and State, to the formation of secret military or political organizations of foreigners of one religious faith. The only proposition that deserves serious consideration was the restriction of immigration. As to the other demands; liberty of speech stood in no danger of limitation; there was at that time not nearly as much of a chance of union between Church and State as between State and saloon; the rule of America by Americans was not threatened. There was some talk of abolishing the Bible in the schools and of giving Catholics separate schools, but this amounted to very little outside of New York. Even there with Seward ever favoring the Catholic and the naturalized vote, and with his speeches advocating their demands, no changes were introduced into the schools. The last demand—suppression of secret political societies—is a paradoxical one coming as it did from a secret organization, but was not at all out of harmony with nativist logic.

At the outset, as in other cities, the Know-Nothings did not at first put out a ticket, but supported the Whigs who had not recovered from the severe defeat of the previous year. In 1854, however, they nominated a complete municipal ticket. They had at the start but little hope of success, but by creating an intense feeling against Roman Catholics they very nearly succeeded in making a "clean sweep." Hinks, their candidate was elected mayor over Thomas (Democratic). The first branch of

the Council contained fourteen Know-Nothings to six Democrats, whilst the second stood eight to two. There were no Whig candidates. That party simply returned the favors it had been receiving from the Know-Nothings by voting the latter ticket.

The first year's administration of the city by the American party did not call forth hostile criticism, nor is it entitled to a great amount of praise. The previous council had passed an ordinance for the creation of an efficient corps of police, which Mayor Hollins had vetoed, probably on account of the patronage which would have been at the disposal of the incoming mayor. How much trouble could have been averted had Hollins performed his duty the sequel will show. The *Sun*, or to use local parlance, the *Sunpaper*, was very zealous in making friendly suggestions to the party in power. Amongst other things it requested the administration to finish what the Democrats had left undone, namely to provide the city with a better police system. This suggestion passed unheeded.

Whilst the municipal election gave Know-Nothingism some prestige, it was not sufficient to establish it as a controlling force in the political field. The State election held in November 1854 resulted in the choice of Ligon, Democratic, by a large majority over Bowie the Whig candidate supported by the "American" vote, with the Legislature, which consisting in Senate of fourteen Whigs and "Americans" to eight Democrats and in the House of Delegates of thirty-nine Whigs and "Americans" to thirty-one Democrats. In Baltimore the sentiment that Americans should rule America as interpreted by the Know-Nothing organization did not seem any too deep-rooted for at the municipal election of the succeeding year (1855) the Democrats regained a majority (12-8) in the first branch of the Council to the great surprise of the Know-Nothings who immediately prepared to retrieve their loss in the state and congressional elections of the succeeding month. In these the nativist ticket was successful at all points. The Legislature elected was composed of, Senate, eight Know-Nothings, two Democrats and one Unionist, House, fifty-five Know-Things, two Democrats and eight Unionists. The immense preponderance of the Know-Nothing party in the Legisature was just cause for alarm to the Democratic party. The possession of a "border" State by a party thought to

be in alliance with the Republicans of the West, could not fail to strike terror into the heart of the Democracy. Northern writers have not infrequently denounced the Know-Nothing party as an instance of "organized hypocrisy"—a creature of the slave-holding South intended to divert the attention of the North by dividing it upon questions inconsequential and irrelevant; but at the South the popular feeling against this party was just as bitter and for the same reasons but proceeding from a precisely opposite position. Henry Wise of Virginia, in his celebrated letter against Know-Nothingism "arraigns" that party for the anti-slavery principles of many of its leaders. The same charges are made against it with great vigor in his life of Tyler. After berating it for its abolitionism, unitarianism and bigotry he concludes:

> It was the most impious and unprincipled affiliation by bad means for bad ends which ever seized upon large masses of men of every opinion and party, and swayed them for a brief period blindly, as if by a Vehmgericht!"

Both Free Soil and Slavery parties maintained false hypotheses in respect of the Know-Nothing party. It may be truthfully described as a blind grouping around one standard of a great many hetrogeneous elements in search of a real,—but trying to avoid the inevitable—issue.

In 1855 the Know-Nothing party was successful in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Maryland, Kentucky and California, and suffered but slight defeats in Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and Texas. When the extension of slavery was rapidly becoming the all-absorbing question, it required no political seer to foretell that with its rickety and disjointed platform it could not much longer attract the attention and obtain the votes of its one-time supporters. It was unable to suppress the slavery question in its own conventions. It contained from its inception a Northern and Southern wing. Had its life been of longer duration, it would have split in two upon the rock of slavery. Greeley in an article in the Tribune Almanac after describing the rise and progress of the party observes:

> "But it would seem as utterly devoid of elements of persistance and coherence as an anti-cholera or an anti-potato-rot party would be. They will probably put forward a presidential ticket next time and then disappear,"

and Greeley's policy so far as national politics was concerned was verified.

The turbulence and lawlessness, the suspiciousness and hatred engendered by the secret proceedings of the order had by this time thoroughly aroused all the opposition elements. Denunciation from pulpit, platform and press was frequent. The courts and the legislature had not yet been appealed to. At a few murder trials in Virginia, the prosecution had vainly tried to wring from witnesses the secrets and aims of the society. Witnesses objecting to answer the questions designed to reveal these were sustained in their refusals by the court. But the party now met with open and public attack. The governor of Maryland in his annual message alluded to the existence of secret political societies whose aims and the means which they employed in their attainment were nothing short of conspiracy. He called for an investigation and for legislation designed to correct the evil. The Legislature promptly responded by the appointment of a committee of five to whom was referred the part of the message dealing with secret political societies. The committee was ordered to report: (1) whether any secret political society existed in the State (2) whether any political society was known to encourage purposes tending to the subversion of the principles of government, (3) whether these societies had brought religious issues into the field of politics, (4) the character and import of the secrets of these societies, (5) remedial legislation and measures of restraint.

There was but one question upon which the committee was unanimous,—that the American party of the Philadelphia platform of June 1855 was the subject of the Governor's attack. By a distinct vote it was resolved to deny themselves the right conferred upon them by the Legislature of summoning witnesses and calling for papers descriptive of the principles, purposes and objects of the Know-Nothing party, resolving that it was an insult to the intelligence of that large party of the people which had chosen "Americans" for its representatives, and that it was

unnecessary because the people of Maryland in the majesty of their power

> "had furnished the Legislature with abundant testimony of the purity of the Know-Nothing principles by the large and respectable representation in the majority in both the Senate and the House of Delegates."

The majority report failed to touch the point at issue more than once. To what the Governor termed a conspiracy for a number of voters to conspire against Roman Catholics and adoptive citizens they replied that

> "* * * the privacy of the ballot is guarded by law expressly that each voter may determine his own choice * * and that no man may question the grounds of such vote or make it the subject of odious or offensive comment before the public. * * Every citizen has a right * * of judgment upon the religious or political opinions no less than upon the character and capacity of anyone who is submitted to * * his vote. * * The spirit of Republican freedom * * secures him inviolable immunity from all questions of his motive."

The position of the majority upon the technical constitutional question of the secrecy of the ballot was sound. The minority had intended summoning nineteen witnesses from Baltimore. Nine of these were at one time members of, some having reached a very high degree in, the Know-Nothing Order. Prevented by the majority they presented a minority report containing much of the desired information. This report contains all that we know about the secret workings of the Order. In it can be found its constitution, those of the individual societies, the passwords, countersigns, oaths, degrees, initiation ceremonial and other ritual. On the whole in this toggery, Know-Nothingism can hardly be said to have differed from many large secret benefit societies of the day. The oath of the first degree alone deserves mention. It shows what enormous control the Know-Nothing boss could with very little effort exert over the timid subservient lodge member to whom it had once been administered. The candidate bound himself in all things to submit to the will of the majority, although that will may conflict with his

personal inclinations; never to vote for a Roman Catholic; to prefer Know-Nothings of the third degree to all others, and members to outsiders, and obligated himself to follow the same rules in dispensing patronage whenever that should be in his gift.

The American party was not again heard from until its national convention in Philadelphia, February 22, 1856. Always desirous of creating patriotic feeling it combined its appearances in public with some important event in American history. It made a point of observing every national event as a part of its ritual, always publicly and in a theatrical manner so designed for political effect. The first party platform was adopted on the anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill. The first national convention met on the birthday of the Father of His Country, whom they sought to associate with themselves by appropriating the slogan attributed to him, "Put none but Americans on guard tonight."

At this convention, as a bid for the Whig vote, Millard Fillmore was nominated for the presidency, and Andrew Jackson Donelson of Tennessee for the vice-presidency. The platform contained the stereotyped Know-Nothing demands, and a well-seasoned plank condemning the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Subsequently (Sept 17) a convention of "Old Line Whigs" met at Baltimore and accepted the nominees of the Know-Nothing party but specifically declined to endorse any of its peculiar tenets.

There can be no doubt that the Know-Nothing leaders had formed great hopes of success. It did seem at the beginning of the canvass as though there were a chance of throwing the election into the House of Representatives. The Republican ticket, it was argued, was sure to carry the West, the Know-Nothings had been victorious in the Eastern and the Middle States and almost so in many of the Southern, in the elections of 1855. The Democratic party was expected to poll the highest popular vote, but despite that might be defeated. In the event of the election going to the House, there could be no mistake as to the probable result, the Democracy would be turned out of power, but the Know-Nothing party did not anticipate the complete defeat that it met at the November elections.

Meanwhile Baltimore's local "Fourth of July," the Twelfth of September, was approaching. Great preparations were made for the proper celebration of the day, but none more so than by that bigoted minority that sought to monopolize for itself the name American. Speeches and other stimulants of "American" patriotism were indulged in, perhaps the latter to an unfortunate extent, as the result would seem to show. Three Know-Nothing clubs, the notorious Rip Raps and Plug Uglies, and another bearing the aboriginal American name "Wompanoag" were passing Federal Hill when the trouble began, shots rang out and a riot ensued in which a tavern was sacked, two persons killed and twenty seriously wounded. This outbreak created quite a sensation, and the news of it quickly spread throughout the country. The New York and Philadelphia papers appeared the next day with huge headlines proclaiming anarchic conditions in Baltimore. There can be but little doubt that this bit of lawlessness was turned to good account politically and contributed to sway not a few undecided minds.

Before the municipal elections of October, the city had quieted down, and the matter was almost forgotten. But these political organizations had not forgotten their first taste of riot. It took very little provocation for the "Rip Raps" to attack the New Market Fire Company in the Lexington Market. The two bodies faced one another and fought desperately firing in regular platoons, but the experience and superior training of the "Rip Raps" soon began to tell. The fire laddies were driven from the market, pursued in various directions, and their fire house entered and sacked. There were a number of minor disturbances elsewhere. The day closed with the election of Thomas Swann the Know-Nothing candidate over Wright, Democratic, with thirteen members out of twenty of the first branch of the council Know-Nothings, and the second branch evenly divided. The state and national elections took place on the fourth of November. It was soon quite apparent that a fair vote could not be polled. Armed resistance was met with everywhere, the lot of the naturalized voters being the sorriest. Fights and brawls occurred throughout the city and at all times throughout the day. The most serious collisions took place in the second, fourth, sixth and eighth wards which for decades thereafter remained the

regions of greatest disorder. In the sixth ward an encounter with the police occurred in which the mob used a few small cannon. Reinforcements arriving from the seventh ward rendered the police powerless to make any arrests, though they succeeded in capturing the cannon. In the second ward the Democrats drove the Know-Nothings from the polls and followed them up High Street. The Know-Nothings of the fourth ward hearing of this came to their party's aid but were also repulsed. More Know-Nothings came running in and at last succeeded in routing the Democrats who were pursued far out of the ward. Eight persons were killed and more than fifty wounded. The victorious rowdies carried the day. Know-Nothingism swept every ward in the city. The city vote for president stood, Fillmore 16,900, Buchanan 9,871, Fremont 214. Maryland was the only State that gave its electoral vote to the Know-Nothing candidate. The party had been crushed in every other State of the Union, by the Democracy in some, by advancing Republicanism in others.

A year passed. Some much needed reforms had been introduced. The police had been reorganized. On the whole, from a business point of view Swann made a capable mayor, but he had not the ability to deal with politicians, particularly where they had the power that proceeds from violence. He was an excellent business man. At one time president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, his was the material from which mayors should be selected. The city finances had been managed most efficiently. There was very little hostile criticism of his administration. No one could hold him responsible for the excesses to which his party had gone in the previous election, and had not the Democrats been equally guilty? Long before the days of Know-Nothingism the "Empire" and other Democratic clubs had acted quite as outrageously as the "Rip Raps," "Plug Uglies," "Tigers," "Blood Tubs" and various other Nativist clubs of like uneuphemistic names.

In his first message to the city council Swann alluded to the increase of lawlessness, deprecated the use of force and the carrying of arms and laid the blame for all the outrages upon the courts,

> "the power of the city police terminates with the arrest of the party or parties offending against the law."

A peaceable election was expected that Autumn. Even the naturalized voter thought that he might now deposit his vote unharmed, and have it counted without any fraudulent manipulation. Party rancor and animosity had greatly fallen off. The Baltimore *Sun* predicted as a result and from the more efficient policy (initiated by an ordinance passed the first of the year) a quiet day, and added that politicians rarely care very much about city councils, a fallacy which the *Sun* has since had time to outlive.

How hopelessly all parties were wrong, was made clear by the events of the day. Violence was everywhere rampant. Slugs, knives, pistols, were to be seen in the hands of all partisans. Rows, fights, brawls took place at almost every street corner. Incendaries set fire to houses whilst their fellow-gangsters sacked them. A riot took place in the eighth ward between Know-Nothings and Democrats, provoked probably by one as much as by the other, neither party having just cause. Cannon were brought to bear from Jackson Hall, the Democratic quarters, upon the Know-Nothings and Jourdan, a police sergeant, was shot. Before many polling places were placed tubs of bloody water into which the unhappy German or Irish voter was plunged. One of the Know-Nothing Clubs took its name "Blood Tubs" from this kind of outrage. Kicks and cuffs were of course not wanting and these gory apparitions running through the street with a crowd at their heels were sufficient in themselves to excite terror in the hearts of others. Persons who had no intention of hazarding their lives in order to deposit their votes were abused, attacked and maltreated. Large crowds were formed around all the polls and it was well-nigh impossible for the Democratic (certainly for the naturalized) voter to get to the window. Illegal votes were received by the thousands. They would be passed over the heads of the crowd and the judges were told they came from parties in an omnibus who were unable to reach the window. The polls were advertised to be at the centres of wards but the judges took it upon themselves to remove them to the outskirts (in close proximity to one another for the convenience of the clubs). Such was the notorious character of the day that many candidates resigned by noon and even election judges refused to serve. The result, which the Baltimore

American, never much in sympathy with the Democratic party, depicted as "a mere mockery of the elective franchise," was the capture by the Know-Nothings of every ward in the city but the eighth, the stronghold of the Irish. The vote in the city election stood Know-Nothings 11,898, Democratic 2,792, over against 16,900 cast the previous year for Fillmore and 9,871 for Buchanan. Thus there was a decrease of 12,081 votes of which 5,002 were Know-Nothing and 7,079 Democratic. The respectable element of even the Know-Nothing party were beginning to stay at home. Matters had now gone too far. Election frauds, rows and riots had taken place all over the country, in fact they seemed an indispensable condition of republican and representative institutions. In many cases they may have been successful in putting into office the choice of the minority, but they had never helped in the least to form public opinion. Baltimore had climbed into an unenviable position. Its bad reputation had spread abroad. James Hodges in an address to a reform mass meeting in 1859 said that a manufacturer in some obscure English town on learning that Hodges came from Baltimore exclaimed, "Why that's the place the roughs shoot people down in the streets." The prosperity of the city showed signs of falling off. The better organized police force had been neither able nor willing to cope with the disorder. It was high time that some higher authority intervened. That higher authority was willing; what is more, good citizens implored intervention, but as the leader in the State of the opposing party his position was one of great responsibility and peculiar delicacy. Not to interfere would be to avoid a duty in order to escape abuse or at least loss of popularity, whilst on the other hand to intervene would lay him open to slander, vilification and misconstruction of motive. Governor Ligon courageously communicated the whole matter to the legislature in his report the next year. Amongst other things he said:

> "At the Municipal election held in Baltimore in 1856 an organized force was made apparent at the polls which in its direct influence was immediately felt by naturalized citizens * * *
>
> In the course of the day bloody and destructive riots took place and the subsequent records comprehended a

list of killed and wounded truly appalling. The city was temporarily outlawed by its own fury, and it is beyond all question with me that could the executive authority have commanded military power at the moment of the emergency it would have been my duty then to have interposed and overwhelmed a lawless demonstration clearly defiant of the municipal police. As the time approached for the presidential election in November 1856 apprehension generally prevailed that a recurrence of similar scenes were inevitable. * * *

On the eve of the presidential election I proceeded to Baltimore and sought an interview with the Mayor of the city, in the hope of such co-operation of influences and moral and material power as would ensure the peace of the city, prevent bloodshed and secure to every citizen without respect to party the exercise of his political rights. My overtures were repulsed with cold civility and I was thrown upon my personal and official responsibility before an important and respectable community for the initiative in a measure which the exigency of the times demanded and the executive of the city was indisposed to adopt. * * * *

A year glided away and with the fall of 1857 the political elements were again stirred for the election contests of the season. In the meantime the civil condition of the city had become more sensibly demoralized. The press without distinction of party was teeming with every day report of wrong, outrage, violent encounters of partisans, desperate assaults and homicides. * * *

Since the election of the preceding year a new and enlarged organization of the city police had been made and I was not without hopes that it would exert a conservative force on the occasion. I was assured by numerous gentlemen of the city that they expected nothing of the sort and they referred to the daily record of violence as abundant proof of its inefficiency to subdue even preliminary disorder. * * * * *"

He therefore determined to go to the city there to use persuasion and if necessary his constitutional authority in favor of law and order. He continues:

"Immediately upon my arrival I addressed the Mayor of the city, invited his counsel and co-operation in devising and putting into practical effect means adequate to the

> impending emergency. Again my overtures were repulsed and this time the executive authority of the State coolly and gratuitously disputed."

The Mayor had replied to the governor that he had already made sufficient arrangements, and that he did not propose to recognize any joint administration in the affairs of the city.

> "The object which I had in view *** would not admit of delay incident to an empty controversy about well-established constitutional authority."

Accordingly on the 29th of October he issued a proclamation to the traditional good citizens setting forth that inasmuch as the municipal authorities were unable to enforce the laws or to secure a fair and honest election, he felt it his duty to interpose, that troops would be on hand to protect the rights of all the people, that all good citizens should remain within the ward of their residence, thereby ensuring a better enforcement of the laws and a maintenance of order and quiet. At the same time orders were issued to Major-General Steuart to keep his commad in readiness, and to Major-General Smith to enroll without delay six regiments of six hundred men each. It is very doubtful whether these troops would have contributed anything to quiet proceedings; in fact the reverse might have been anticipated especially in view of the antagonism between mayor and governor. There might have been a conflict of authority accidental or carefully plotted. Then the edifying spectacle would have been seen of the police aided by the Know-Nothing clubs fighting the state forces and the Democrats. Nothing short of anarchy would have ensued. Calmer minds saw the danger and the press gave expression to it. In New York, Philadelphia and elsewhere the impression had been received that the governor had proclaimed the City of Baltimore under martial law, which, of course, was far from the case. The Know-Nothing papers of the city and state took up the charge thus reflected from afar and busied themselves disseminating it at home.

> "Misrepresentation and abuse of the press (the governor adds) and the diffusion of erroneous sentiments respecting the executive authority had an effect in keeping away many who were expected to serve."

On the first of November the mayor and a number of citizens represented to the governor that special extraordinary arrangements had been made to avoid a recurrence of the disorder of the previous elections and demanded that he withdraw his proclamation but this demand met with a firm refusal for Ligon was unwilling to concede the point at issue because, in case of need, he wanted some force with which to meet the emergency. Nevertheless he consented to announce that in view of the sufficiency of the arrangements of the mayor he did not contemplate the use of the military force which he had ordered to be enrolled and organized.

In respect of the constitutional question, the mayor had a plausible case but that is all. The soundness of the governor's position was sustained by the most eminent legal talent of the state such as Reverdy Johnson, Severn Teackle Wallis, J. V. L. McMahon, G. W. Brown, F. W. Brune, Jr., I. Nevitt Steele and others. The constitution of the state made the governor commander-in-chief of all the land and naval forces of the state, with power to call out the militia "to repel invasions, suppress insurrections and enforce the execution of laws," but it prohibited him from taking command in person without legislative consent. The constitution also required him to see that "the laws be faithfully executed." The mayor objected to the governor's invading the privileges of a chartered city; calling out troops before there was any actual invasion or insurrection; taking command in person without the legislature's consent; summoning troops unrecognized by the State. In these days the objections of Swann must seem the veriest pettifogging, for a city charter is not the grant of government independent of the state but substantially mere administrative separation from that of the county, that the power of a governor to have troops in readiness to meet a city mob is just as ample as to quell a county insurrection. The governor had sufficient grounds to fear that the November elections would be conducted in defiance of law and it fell within his duty to provide and have in readiness the means for executing the laws. There was considerable difference of opinion as to whether calling out the militia did not constitute taking command in person, though to-day this would seem rather a strained construction. What the framers of the Maryland constitution probably had in mind in using the expression "taking command

in person" was neglecting the ordinary duties of the executive by going into the field at the head of the troops. The objection to volunteer forces—a *posse* not *comitatus* but of the state was without merit, since as the state possessed no regularly enrolled militia, these few volunteer corps might well have been considered militia within the meaning of the constitution.

A policeman has the right to order citizens to aid him in executing the law; the sheriff has the same power. It would seem rather paradoxical if the chief executive officer did not possess an equal power to request or to order the aid of citizens and to use that aid when proffered. The irregular character is taken from voluntary defenders, when they are regularly employed by one of the responsible officers of the State.

The State of Maryland was at this time ill-supplied not only with troops but with arms and ammunitions. In this crisis Governor Ligon was obliged to request of the Governor of Virginia the loan of two thousand stand of arms. The defenceless condition of the state was the subject of serious comment on the part of the adjutant-general in his report to the governor at the end of this year, and he advised the creation of a regular militia.

The mayor's proclamation for the ensuing election commanded the police to carry out every order give by judges of election, to keep the polls clear, arrest all disorderly or intoxicated persons, seize all fire-arms exhibited at the polls, detain all carriages containing riotous persons and in case of serious disorder to dispatch messengers to the mayor's office. Citizens were requested to report all delinquencies on the part of the police. Omnibuses were to be in readiness at the central station to convey adequate forces to any part of the city. The police were to close all liquor stores. Ten special policemen were to be assigned to each ward in addition to the regular force. It was thought these arrangements would be carried out in good faith, and on persuasion of Messrs. Johnson, Howard, Wallis and others who represented the law-abiding part of the community, the governor consented to issue a proclamation abandoning any determination to use the military.

Election day came. The Baltimore *Clipper*, a Know-Nothing organ, announced editorially that no foreigner who had not been naturalized by the federal courts would be allowed to vote.

There were very few open outbreaks but the covert violence and intimidation practiced was enormous. The members of the Know-Nothing clubs wore, strapped around their knees, very fine delicate awls, which, besides making it impossible to tell with certainty who was the offender, were far more efficacious than clumsy knives which in previous election encounters they had been wont to use. The Know-Nothing tickets bore a red stripe plainly visible through the ballot. Persons approaching the polls without such tickets were at first asked to accept them, that failing, they were threatened and if the voter still insisted upon his rights as an American citizen, the crowd would close around him and inflict a number of awl-wounds in his unsuspecting legs and back. There were, of course, some voters for whom even the rowdies had respect. Wallis was told by one of the chief bullies that the Know-Nothings had no objection to his or Brown's voting, 'for they were gentlemen.' Vansant was never molested. During one election he went up to the polls with his son who not being so well known was forced aside by the crowd, whereupon someone who knew him called out "let Mr. Vansant's son come up and vote." A very small vote was polled. No doubt this was due to the disgraceful proceedings of the municipal election and to the intimidation practiced all the week as well as on the day of the state and national election, though it was said that the Germans stayed home because of their not receiving a part of the customs house spoils. The Know-Nothing ticket was completely successful in Baltimore, Messrs. Harris and Davis being elected to congress. Hicks was elected governor and the legislature for the ensuing term was made up of Senate: fifteen Know-Nothings to seven Democrats. House of Delegates; forty-two Know-Nothings to thirty-one Democrats. This Legislature passed a resolution of censure of the governor declaring in the usual stereotyped way for the sanctity of the ballot and the purity of elections, charging that his assertions that 'Baltimore was on the verge of anarchy on the eve of last election, that voters were excluded from the polls and daring frauds everywhere committed, that these wrongs are unparalleled but in Baltimore,' were unsustained by the evidence and a libel upon the people of the city. His action was formally declared to be ill-advised, reckless, unnecessary and dangerous; his

interposition illegal and his order that no man should leave his ward unless ordered by competent authority of law, "a piece of unparalleled despotism."

Hicks, the new governor, evidently had the fate of his predecessor in mind, for in his inaugural he promised that he would never under any circumstances call out the militia on the eve of an election. Further on he repeated exactly what Mayor Swann said in his message of that year that the disorders were due more to the want of proper laws than to the unwillingness of those in authority to enforce them.

An attempt was made to overcome the results of terrorism by contesting the congressional elections. Brooks served a notice upon Henry Winter Davis, and William Pinkney Whyte, one upon Harris. A large amount of testimony was taken but the contestants were unsuccessful.

The same distressing round of outbreaks and outrages linked the elections of 1857 with those of 1858. The only one of any importance was the attack upon the building of the "Deutsche Correspondent." The municipal election was drawing near and numerous independent candidates were cropping out. Swann received the Know-Nothing nomination. The Baltimore *Sun* never for a moment believing the mayor to be responsible for the outrages of his supporters, admitted the uselessness and, in fact, danger, of opposition to the dictatorship of the minority. It therefore deprecated the nomination of any rival candidates, expressed itself perfectly willing to support Swann and trusted implicitly in his declarations of desire to reform the abuses that were warping the city's life. The pusillanimous tone of the *Sun* was amazing though certainly not illogical. Some over-zealous persons pushed for the office the name of A. P. Shutt. Though his chances were far from strong, he consented nevertheless to become a candidate. The 13th of October came, but before noon he announced:

> "It being clearly manifest that a deliberate purpose actuates the mayor of this city to countenance the general combination which now prevails between his police and the armed bands of lawless men who have since the opening of the ballot-boxes held possession of the polls * * * I feel it my duty to * * * withdraw my name as candidate for Mayor."

This proclamation is of itself a sufficient commentary upon the proceedings of the day. It would be wearisome to recount all the disgraceful doings of the Rip Raps, Plug Uglies, Eubolts, Tigers, Black Snakes, Blood Tubs, Rough Skins, Regulators, Ranters, Rattlers, Rosebuds, White Oaks, Black Oaks, Decaturs, Washingtons, Thunderbolts, Eutaws, Little Fellows, Babes and others more or less notorious of the Know-Nothing clubs. Swann was re-elected by 24,008 votes to 4858 for Shutt, of which 3,428 were cast in one ward, the Democratic stronghold. The Know-Nothing ticket for the City Council prevailed everywhere but in the eighth ward.

But the people of Baltimore had begun to tire of the rowdyism that had so long held the city in terror, ruined its fair name and made itself felt in the falling off of business. The opposition to Know-Nothing domination which had manifested itself under various forms, democratic, anti-know-nothing, independent or citizens' party—now blossomed forth into a full-blown reform party. It had passed through the evolutionary stages of most reform parties and while in adversity had undergone purification. There was no other organization to which the respectable people of Baltimore could look to save them from the anarchy of Know-Nothingism. In 1856 the Democratic party had taken the initiatory steps. The city convention requested the voters to give information and evidence relating to the election frauds and outrages. The legal questions involved it announced would be submitted to Messrs. J. V. L. McMahon and Reverdy Johnson. The leaders of the new opposition, the reform party were such men as George William Brown, William Woodward, C. D. Hinks, G. M. Gill, James Hodges. A meeting was held on the first of November, and a circular issued, but otherwise nothing much was done until the Autumn of 1859 when a call was issued,—signed by more than fifteen hundred persons,—for a town-meeting to rescue the city from its "deplorable condition." The meeting took place September 8th in the "Square," as Monument Square was then called, was presided over by William Woodward and addressed by Messrs. Brown, Hodges and others. It was resolved to nominate reform candidates to all offices but those of congressman, to request the mayor to appoint unimpeachable election judges, to enroll two hundred order-loving

citizens as special constables for each ward, to give the judges and constables full power to act in cases of emergency and to order the closing of saloons. The call for the meeting provoked quite a sensation. Such was the desire to attend that tradesmen closed their shops at noon in order to give their employees an opportunity to be present. Reform sentiment had now become too strong to be restrained, and therefore the Know-Nothings, desirous of "pandering to the moral sense of the community" held an opposition meeting the next night which they also styled a reform meeting. "Reform within the party" was the remedy proposed, but the pretence was too shallow to enlist any enthusiasm. That same night (October 6th) two of its speakers were nominated to office by party conventions. The desire for reform was becoming epidemic. Even Stump the notorious judge of the Criminal Court to which Brown had alluded as "yonder cesspool of corruption" favored reform, said he was thoroughly in sympathy with the objects of the reform party, but thought the speakers were too severe upon him. He would not accept office again unless the pay were increased and the work reduced by one-half. He was getting up an address, which if no newspaper would publish, he intended to issue in pamphlet form, to show why justice is obstructed. Many concerned in the reform meeting, he charged, were the direct cause of the corruption, notorious offenders who had gotten into the clutches of the law had their friends obtain signatures to petitions for pardon. How much that sounds like "alibis" of to-day!

The central committee conformably to the resolutions passed at the mass meeting communicated with the mayor. Swann replied that he was perfectly willing to commission any conservative, non-partisan citizens who would come forward. At the same time he published an address to the people of Baltimore in defense of his course. He deprecated the appointment of special police, because then fights instead of being between clubs would be between two opposing sets of police. He complained of the press for printing in full exaggerated accounts of crimes. He probably reasoned himself into a species of sincerity to justify the false position into which for so long a time he had complacently allowed himself to be drawn.

Swann's address seeming to imply a contradiction to his reply

to the committee, another letter was sent him. It contained in addition to what appeared in the first, objections to the judges of elections just appointed, twenty-nine of whom had served the previous year, and were for the most part the most undesirable men that could have been selected. The mayor repeated his assurances, expressed surprise that his nominations should be so severely criticised and desired legal proof of the charge that his appointees had received illegal votes. Seeing that it was useless to negotiate with the mayor, recourse was had to the sheriff but with no better success. The latter while admitting his great powers, refused for reasons that he deemed satisfactory, to act but saying he would acquiesce in the mayor's arrangements. The mayor came forward with proposals similar to those of 1857. While the election preparations were being pushed, the trial took place of four roughs charged with creating a riot on a bay steamer bringing a number of colored people to the city. There were about a dozen in all who were concerned in the affair. They were known to one another by handkerchiefs worn around their necks. The name of a Know-Nothing club served as the signal and bullies went to work knocking down, robbing and stabbing, and there were also instances of the violation of colored women. The captain and crew of the "Express" were powerless. On reaching the city a few of the thugs were arrested. Considerable feeling was shown on the trial, the justice presiding going to the undignified length of descending from the bench to say in an audible whisper to a *Sun* reporter that he wished they had thrown the captain overboard for taking aboard colored folks. The jury found a verdict of guitly against three of the ruffians, and these,—such still was the hold that the criminal Know-Nothing organizations had upon the courts,—were punished only with a *fine of fifty cents* and two days imprisonment each.

Election day came and went marked by an unlimited number of outrages, yet the Baltimore *Sun* said, "It was the quietest election day in years." The awls got in their very effective work, and were supplemented by cowhage which was sprinkled at the polls. In the ninth ward the reform candidate to the first branch withdrew at noon. The subsequent count showed that his opponent was but sixteen ahead. In the twentieth ward while the count was proceeding the Plug Uglies charged the polls and suc-

ceeded in destroying the ballot box. Up to that time the reform candidate was one hundred and twenty in the majority. The twentieth ward was left undecided. The total vote in nineteen wards was Know-Nothings 9,031, Reformers 7,706, six Reform candidates being elected and thirteen Know-Nothings.

Before the state and national elections took place another reform mass meeting was held. Shortly after there was a Know-nothing parade and mass meeting, both marked by brawls and violence. Intimidating transparencies were carried in this procession. Clifton W. Tayleure, in February 1860, testifying in one of the Contested Election Cases, said:

> "Some were very humorous, others witty, and others ridiculous. Some were of a very significant character. * * There were figures of men pursued by others with awls in their hands; others of bleeding heads, some with very ridiculous faces labelled and inscribed, 'heads of reformers.' One witty one, read something like this:
>
> 'Reform measures, reform man
> If you can vote I'll be damned.'
>
> The general nature of these devices was to encourage voters to come up, intimating, of course that it would be 'all right,' "

the picture of an awl being generally substituted for the word. The Rattlers, one of the Know-Nothing Clubs, inserted in the newspapers a notice that the awls would be ready for distribution. Henry Winter Davis, brilliant leader that he was of the Baltimore Bar, candidate for Congress from the fourth congressional district, delivered a most violent and inflammatory address during this campaign. Anthony Kennedy, well-known locally, also spoke in the same strain.

The ensuing election was the most lawless and riotous that Baltimore had ever experienced. Knowing itself on the run, the lawless element girded itself for a final effort. The arrangements made by the mayor for the municipal election were not carried out. In the fifteenth ward the polls were held in the Watchmen's Engine-house (near Lee Street). From the upper windows of this fire-house shots were fired. Two reformers by

the name of Kyle, attacked by the mob, were shot at and one killed. The evidence brought out in the subsequent contested congressional election case proved conclusively that the polls were everywhere located conveniently near saloons, "coops," Know-Nothing club-houses and similar establishments, all of them well provided with fire-arms. As in previous elections, cannon were seen on the streets, close to the polls. On the morning of the election the *Clipper* and the *Patriot* both Know-Nothing organs, came out full of counter charges and seditious editorials, intended to intimidate the average man and sufficient for the purpose. At one of the polls, the judge for the reform party was forced out, and a Know-Nothing who had usurped the place, constituted himself election judge. In the charges brought in 1857 by Brooks contesting the legality of Henry Winter Davis' election, it was urged that even women voted. In the election of 1859 "woman suffrage" was tried out on a large scale and minors also voted. It was useless for the opposition to attempt to vote; and of course equally useless for challengers to remain at the polls. As long as they closed their eyes all might go well, but one objection and they were hustled out, or arrested, charged with creating a disturbance. Accordingly by two in the afternoon they had abandoned the polls in every ward but the eighth. Knowing that their power was waning, for this election the Know-Nothings imported a number of roughs. The home market could not furnish the necessary quota. Washington was the recruiting ground. The authorities there were notified, and police were accordingly posted at the depot, to intercept and search all suspects on their return, but the rowdies had "gotten wind" of this and most of them left the train at the cut near Bladensburg.

The "coops" which were a terror at this election were worked to capacity. The evidence of one eye-witness may be sufficient to show what the methods were, but cannot describe the horrors of the "coop." Severn Teackle Wallis, in his testimony, November 1859, said:

> "By degrees a few more persons came up to vote, when I saw Erasmus Levy, take his station by the door of his house, from which there came out a party of men headed by one of the persons who had been engaged in

> the previous rioting and firing; the party was composed of a wretched set of creatures, filthy, stupefied with drink, some of them in sailor's clothes, some of them without shirts, one I observed without any shoes, some without hats; they were marched up to the polls in charge of the man I have referred to, in Indian file, where they voted as rapidly as Mr. Hinesley, the chief judge, could take their tickets; the man who had them in charge cried out 'clear the way, make room for the voters' and pushed everybody else aside; as the party voted and I suppose there were some twenty or thirty of them at least, they marched back into Levy's house and out again, then voted again then back to Levy's house, then out again and voted, then back and out again and voted. I suppose I saw the process repeated from six to a dozen times * * something after the fashion of the endless chain of the mathematicians. They were then hustled into an omnibus and driven away,"

and John Shaney the president of the "Regulator" club, was seen wrapping himself with devout patriotism in an American flag, and hurrahing from the top of the bus. Previous to the election "Ras" Levy stopped Wallis on the street, told him of the uselessness of reform efforts, urged him to take care of himself and announced that the clubs must carry the next election, by violence and fraud if need be.

> "Why, Mr. Wallis, suppose you Reformers get this damned place (pointing over his left shoulder to the Criminal Court) don't I know I am a goner, don't we all know we are goners * * * don't I know if you elect your prosecuting attorey and sheriff I can't stay in town for a week, that none of us can?"

It is hardly necessary to give the result of the election, if election it could truly be called. Harris was sent to congress from the third district by a vote of 8,026 to Preston's 2,554. In the fourth district the vote stood Davis 8,250 to 2,637 of Harrison. Purnell was elected comptroller. In Baltimore his vote was 18,611 to Jaretts 5,334, while in the city of Baltimore the Know-Nothings carried everything before them. In the State, their power, which had been gradually slipping, was now destroyed.

The Legislature that was elected, consisted in Senate twelve Democrats to ten Know-Nothings; House, forty-eight Democrats to twenty-eight Know-Nothings. The hopes of the reformers were raised. They could expect something of such a legislature. The people of Baltimore had grown weary of mob rule, felt the necessity of some stand upon the slavery question, and had become impatient with the dilatory issues of Know-Nothingism. Time and again Henry Winter Davis was denounced as an abolitionist, but the voice of Baltimore had been stifled by the clubs that held her in their clutches. The reform organization was not slow to grasp the situation. At the meeting of the seventeenth of November a committee was appointed to present to the legislature evidence of frauds perpetrated at the recent elections. To another committee was given the duty of drafting measures designed to cure the evils from which the city was suffering.

In the meantime the two defeated congressional candidates had given Messrs. Harris and Davis notice of their intention to contest the election. The testimony taken comprises several large volumes. The effort was futile. Additional evidence was presented in 1860 in the shape of memorial petitions by Joshua Vansant. They were signed by 8,347 persons legally qualified to vote, present in the city at the time of the election. Of these 2,581 voted and 5,766 did not. Of the latter 1,153 asserted that they were actually subjected to violence, 3,788 that they were intimidated, the rest assigning no reason. Of those who voted, over one half resided in the eighth, eleventh and twelfth wards. Those who had gotten up the memorial said

> "If a proper effort had been made at least double the number of names might have been obtained."

In his message to the council, January 1860, Swann alluded to the election riots in the phrases of a pharisee. If men commit outrages, if frauds are perpetrated at the polls, if people are crowded out, he protested, why blame the mayor? The whole trouble lies in the lack of efficient laws. Laws should be enacted against the carrying of concealed weapons. Stricter ones were wanted against intoxication and public houses. Thus did he try in modern parlance "to pass the buck." The legislature was not

alone willing to enact the stricter laws, but even to remedy what had occurred in the absence of such laws. By resolution the election of Purnell, state comptroller, was made void, and A. Lingon Jarrett was declared elected in his stead. By a similar resolution the Know-Nothing clerk of the circuit court was displaced and a new election ordered. On the last day of the session the house of delegates resolved to void the election of November 2nd, 1859, of the representatives of Baltimore city, and accordingly Messrs. Krafft, Booze, Seth, Berry, Crowley, McAllister, Smith, Turner and Denison were expelled from the house. Wisong who had succeeded at that election had the courage to declare the election a fraud and to refuse to sit. The expelled members suffered the humiliation of being present during the debate and passage of the reform measure which preceded their expulsion. The committee on legislation consisted of Norris, Thomas, Steele, Wallis, Poe, McMahon, Nelson, Gill, Campbell, Brown, Spence, Gwinn and Reverdy Johnson. Their work lasted six weeks uninterruptedly and resulted in the police, jury and election statutes, which remained substantially the law for the next forty years.

The police organization created during Swann's administration was under a marshal, responsible to the mayor. The city was divided into districts each containing a station-house, these districts being subdivided into "beats." An adequate complement of captains, lieutenants and other officers was created by the ordinance of January 1857. The police law enacted by the legislature was to some extent modeled upon the ordinance in force. The city was districted in the same way, but instead of a marshal of police responsible to the mayor there was created a police board of four together with the mayor *ex-officio*. The members of this board were appointed by the legislature. All the appointees on the force had to be residents of the city, persons of good character, of physical strength and courage, with a knowledge of reading and writing and such was the pro-slavery feeling, neither a "black republican" nor endorser of the "Helper Book." A force of between 350 and 450 was provided for with special police in case of emergencies. The sheriff was required to obey all calls and orders of the Board. The Board was empowered to call out the militia in its discretion. To attempt to

maintain the old police, or to resist the new force was made punishable with a fine of one thousand dollars for each offense. To make it entirely independent of the executive, the Board was to draw up its own estimate which the mayor and city council were obliged to provide by assessing and levying the necessary taxes. The journal of the proceedings of the board together with its accounts was required to be public. The election of justices of the peace, ward magistrates and constables was done away with, and their appointment placed in the hands of the Board. As soon as this law was passed Swann sent a message to the council volunteering an opinion of its unconstitutionality, and asking leave to test it, for which the council voted $5000.

The first board consisting of Charles Howard, William H. Gatchell, Charles D. Hinks and John W. Davis, took oath in the office of the clerk of the superior court on the sixth of February. On the ninth through their counsel Reverdy Johnson, Severn Teackle Wallis, J. Mason Campbell and William H. Norris, they demanded the surrender of the station-houses and police equipment and upon Swann's prompt refusal a mandamus was applied for to compel the city authorities to comply. From Judge Martin's decision declaring the board constitutional, an appeal was taken but the decision below was affirmed. The old force was disbanded, and the new one entered upon its duties with the first of May.

In passing it must be mentioned that the old volunteer fire companies had been abolished by an ordinance passed September 1858, and a paid department established. A marked decrease in the number of fires especially those due to incendiarism was noticeable the ensuing year, but the companies still assisted the clubs in their riotous demonstrations. During the same year the police and fire alarm telegraph system was introduced with good results.

The jury law passed at this session created a panel of seven hundred and fifty qualified persons from a list of taxable males furnished by the collector of taxes to be drawn annually before the May term by the judges of the four city courts. Out of these seven hundred and fifty the first twenty-three names were to constitute the Grand Jury of the criminal court, the next twenty-five the jurors of the superior court; the next twenty-five, of the

common pleas; the next of the criminal. All were to be entered on the jury books. In cases where *"tales de circumstantibus"* are ordered, the sheriff was required to select from those entered in the book but not on the regular panel, and on this list becoming exhausted recourse was to be had to the other books. Next to the police law the election law was the most important. It divided the wards into polling precincts of about four hundred and fifty voters each. Every voter was required to deposit his ballot in the precinct of his residence. The board of police was given the appointment of three judges of election and two clerks for every precinct. These required to be residents of the ward were empowered to preserve the peace while on duty, to keep the polls clear for ingress or egress, to prevent intimidation and to commit persons who violated the law. They could summon under penalty for refusal, the police, the sheriff, his deputies or any citizens to assist in maintaining the law. They were authorized to choose the polling places which, however, had always to be near the center of the precinct, on a public street, convenient and accessible and not near a saloon or public house. They were permitted to erect barriers around the polls to prevent obstruction. The polls had to be advertised in the papers ten days in advance of the election and remain open from 8 A. M. to 5 P. M. Rejected ballots had to be separately deposited in sealed envelopes endorsed with the voter's name in a box provided for the purpose and unless called for by a judicial investigation before twelve months, burnt unopened. Saloons were compelled to close on election day. Judges were required under penalty to exercise the power of preserving the peace and enjoined from knowingly or willingly refusing to receive a legal, or accepting an illegal, vote. Conspiracy to intimidate voters and intimidation, conspiracy to obstruct the polls and obstruction, mutilation of ballots, stealing of records and kindred acts were made criminal. The police on suspicion of fire-arms in or near the polls, were authorized and required without any order, warrant or permit, to cause a search to be made and the weapons found taken into custody until the day after the returns had been made known. Judges of election had to take the oath before serving and thereafter were required under penalty to serve. Immediately after each election they were obliged to appear before the grand jury

as witnesses and give information unless prepared to make affidavit that the proceedings of the day were orderly.

The passage of these laws rudimentary, as they seem today in the light of the great advances made since, sounded the knell of the Know-Nothing clubs. They were disbanded and the leading roughs fled. What was once the Know-Nothing party acted for a year with the new American or the "Constitutional Union" party which met in Baltimore in 1860 to nominate John Bell and Edward Everett. Its convention has been described as a quiet "family reunion and all there." In 1863 the Know-Nothing party joined the "Unconditional Union" party in Maryland, after which the transition into the Republican party was easy.

To return to the year 1860: for the approaching municipal election a complete ticket was nominated with George William Brown, who had done most to inaugurate the era of reform, as candidate for the mayoralty. The spirit of reform had long ago been aroused, but could not make itself felt at the polls until adequate laws were there to sustain it. The public saw that the reform association was more than an assemblage of sour partisans concealing their own ambitions under the mask of reform. The election that took place was without disturbance. It was really the most peaceable election ever held in Baltimore. The entire reform ticket was elected. Judge Brown received 17,625 votes to 9,864 of Mr. Hinds, the Know-Nothing nominee. The "reign of terror" from which the city of Baltimore had suffered from 1854 to 1860 was at an end.

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THE CARTOON IN LUTHER'S WARFARE AGAINST THE CHURCH

It is well known that few men made such an extensive use of the art of printing as did Martin Luther for the promotion of his anti-Catholic doctrines. If all his large and small literary productions were summed up, counting the several instalments of his Bible translation as so many separate publications, we should find that he practically issued a monthly during all the twenty-five years of his warfare against the Church. This shows incidentally that the number of people who were able to read must have been quite considerable, though of course the percentage of illiterates was greater then than now. It is not so generally recognized that one of the most efficient features of his literary activity was the liberal use of printed *pictures,* in particular polemical representations of Catholic practices and ecclesiastical personages, above all of the papacy.

When Luther rose in rebellion against the ecclesiastical authority, the art of printing was about seventy years old. A large number of the books that had been produced by it were illustrated. The art had given an impetus to the sister art of wood engraving; that is, the production of pictures by means of figures cut inversely into wooden blocks.[1] In Luther's time the renowned masters of drawing and painting, Albrecht Dürer and Lucas Cranach, also engaged extensively in wood engraving. But before Luther the illustrations of books rarely served the purpose of ridiculing, vilifying, and slandering an adversary or any particular class of people. It was Martin Luther that introduced the cartoon, the caricature, into the productions of the press. He made it one of his favorite and most effective weapons, and he used it to an extent such as probably no one since has equalled.

This side of Luther's activity is very little known. And yet the Reformer's character does not appear in the right light unless this is taken into consideration together with the other features of his tactics. It is the merit of Fr. Hartman Grisar, S.J., to

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1 Copper engraving, too, saw a rapid development, but was not so extensively utilized by Luther.

have studied this subject exhaustively. The results of his investigations are embodied in four pamphlets, entitled, *Luther's Kampfbilder*, the gist of which will be given in the present paper.

As long as the ridiculing of an adversary keeps to the truth, it may be permissible, but even then only within certain rather narrow limits. If it is based on distortions of truth, on misrepresentations and positive lies, and if besides it transgresses the bounds of decency and even modesty, it is the more criminal the more it is apt to mislead the uneducated and the thoughtless. It must then be deplored as an onslaught on right thinking, on charity, and on civilization in general. Unfortunately for Luther his manner of employing the cartoon is exposed to these serious charges.

Luther began the use of this weapon rather early. In the beginning of the winter of 1520-1521 he had given to the flames the Canon Law and a copy of the papal Bull of Excommunication, with the outspoken intention to show in this drastic way that he had burned his ships behind him. In the following spring, i. e., of 1521, appeared the first collection of anti-papal and anti-Catholic cartoons. It was entitled, *The Passionale of Christ and Antichrist.* The word Passionale originally signified a series of pictures on the passion of Our Lord with a few words of text to each. It next came to mean any series of pious pictures, chiefly such as represented the sufferings of the martyrs. But by Luther's time the word had lost all connection with any suffering and simply stood for any series of pictures supposed to be in some sense religious in character.

Luther probably cannot be called the author of these twenty-six pictures, as no name appears on the title page, and no documents evince a real authorship. But about a month or so before its publication he knows of it, expresses his pleasure, and thinks it is just the right thing for laymen. Again in May of the same year, 1521, he has seen it, and states that it pleases him very much. Finally, the ideas embodied in it are perfectly in accordance with those that fill the venomous pamphlets against Church and papacy which prior to this time had issued from his pen. In quite a number of cases a striking similarity between utterances of Luther and the subjects and texts of these pictures can be traced.

The twenty-six woodcuts are grouped into thirteen couples. On each left page of the pamphlet there is a representation of some event of the life of Christ, with a few lines of Bible text. On the opposite page there appears the pope always doing the very contrary of what is noticed in Christ. Quotations, mostly from Canon Law, under the pope's pictures are meant to show how the papal doctrine is undoing Christ's doctrine. The pamphlet is really a picture book. The woodcuts are about three and a half inches wide, and four and a half inches high.

In one of the couplets the payment by St. Peter of the temple tax is chosen. The Apostle just takes out the coin from the mouth of the fish (Matt. XVII, 23-26). Below are the words: "Go to the sea and cast in (thy) hook, and the first fish which shall come out take, and when thou hast opened its mouth, thou shalt find a stater; take that and give it to them for Me and thee." The other lines are very freely rendered from Rom. XIII, 1-7: "Give to the superior powers that carry the sword in their hand, what is due to them; tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom it is due." On the opposite page a king is just on the point of accepting from members of the clergy, including an abbess, several bags of money. But the pope, seated on an elevated throne with the tiara on his head and surrounded by cardinals and other ecclesiastics, extends towards the king a sealed bull from which stones and flames issue. The pope's face is distorted in an outburst of anger. Below are the words, "We decree and ordain that those who have secular power shall by no means be allowed to impose taxes and tribute upon clerical persons, or to demand the like from their houses or any other possessions, under penalty of excommunication and interdict. Nor shall ecclesiastics pay such taxes or tribute without our permission. Thus has the pope torn up by his own command the commandment of God, and this is entirely the work of his un-Christian Decretal."

The lying character of these pictures is evident. In quoting from the Gospel the preceding verses are omitted, in which Our Lord emphatically states that no one has a right to demand taxes from Him and His, and that He pays the tax this one time for special reasons. The freedom of the clergy from taxes, upheld all through the Middle Ages, was considered as ordained not by

the pope, who merely enforced it, but directly by God. Its practical purpose was to secure to the spiritual authorities a greater independence in fulfilling their office as teachers of all the faithful including the ruling classes. The decretal here referred to was directed against some smaller potentates in France, who had harrassed ecclesiastical estates by intolerable imposts.

This example shows the manner of contraposition employed all through the booklet. The subjects from the life of Christ, says F. Grisar, are excellently chosen. They appeal not only to the understanding but also to the heart, and the drastic representation of what is given as the opposite in the case of "Antichrist" must rouse the reader's indignation to the highest pitch. Indeed one who implicitly accepted all the horrible lies which the series so graphically puts before his eyes, must feel relieved when at the end he beholds Christ rising into heaven, while the pope, clad in all the paraphernalia of his office, is thrown into hell.

This *Passionale* was reprinted several times in Wittenberg. It appeared more or less altered in a number of other cities. Its representations were spread individually as handbills, were painted on the walls of princely castles, and even put into the stained-glass windows of churches. As early as 1522 it had been dramatized, and "among the Protestant publications none was so often reissued and so widely sold as this dramatization." During the Prussian Kulturkampf the old well tried war engine of the *Passionale* was again resorted to. A new edition, with modernized texts and with Luther's name on the title page, appeared in Leipzig, and was reprinted four years later in St. Louis, Mo.

The *Passionale* was the first great blow inflicted upon the enemies of Luther by means of the printed picture. Another was soon to follow.

The *Passionale* went out into the world in 1521, while Luther lived in concealment in the Wartburg Castle. It was there that he began his translation of the Bible. When he left his hiding place, the New Testament needed only the last finishing touches. Three presses were set in motion, and soon a folio edition came forth to begin its triumphal march through Germany. With the exception of the Apocalypse it was not illustrated. Probably the haste with which the work as a whole was rushed made it impossible to devise and engrave pictures for the Gospels and other

parts. But there existed already a beautiful set of woodcuts for the Apocalypse, published previously and without any polemical tendency by Albrecht Dürer. Luther simply reproduced most of these pictures. But he changed several, and added a few new ones for the purpose of carrying on the attacks against the papacy.

Thus "the beast that ascendeth out of the abyss" to kill the witnesses of the Word of God (XI, 7) is a terrible dragon crowned with the tiara. The beast with seven heads spoken of in the thirteenth chapter, also pictured as a terrible monster, is explained as the Holy Roman Empire; while the second beast, mentioned in connection with it, appearing in the picture as a ram with pigs' feet and a monk's hood is, according to Luther, the papacy. "How much devastation, woe, and destruction this imperial popedom has caused I cannot tell now." Of course the woman of Babylon (XVII, 3 etc.) riding on the scarlet beast, "having a golden cup in her hand full of the abomination and filthiness of her fornication," must again be the papacy, and she is so marked by the tiara on her head. Several other illustrations keep in the same line.

Luther's German translation was at once recognized as by far the most idiomatic that had ever appeared, and the circulation of the New Testament ran into enormous numbers. It was often reprinted, not only by the first publishers, but by others also, who rarely failed to insert these illustrations. Soon the pictures were issued independently on single sheets, accompanied by a few verses of the Bible or some other text rhymed or unrhymed. Among the representations most frequently found in the Protestant publications of those stormy days was that of the Babylonian Woman. It served preferably to adorn the title pages of Luther's own works. Probably no individual picture has contributed so much to fill the minds of a great part of the German people with an unnatural abhorrence and hatred of those institutions which had been the most sacred and the most beneficial to the nation, and to which it owed in the first place its very civilization and whatever greatness it possessed.

The next polemical woodcuts also reached an enormous circulation. They were two pictures which formed the subject of a little pamphlet issued jointly by Luther and Melanchthon in 1523

and entitled, *Explanation of Two Gruesome Figures.* The one of these figures represented a monster said to have been found dead in 1496 on the banks of the Tiber. It had the head of a donkey and the rump of a woman. One foreleg ended in a man's hand, the other into something like a split hoof. One hindleg resembled that of a bull, the other that of an eagle or other big bird of prey. Upon one thigh there was a face of an old man; and a serpent with its head took the place of the tail. A copper engraving showing this prodigy had been circulating in Moravia, but was evidently unknown in the interior of Germany until Luther, or rather Melanchthon, seized upon it as an opportunity to strike another blow at the papacy.

The Reformers fully shared the superstitious beliefs of their time. When a whale had been thrown upon the shore of Holland, Luther saw in the event a wonderful portent, a strong warning to the Dutch to do penance. "May God have mercy upon them and us." Among the people the description and interpretation of such real or imaginary things was one of the most common topics of conversation and one of the best selling articles in the book market.

Melanchthon somewhat "improved" the picture of the Moravian engraving, and interpreted the creature as the pope and the Church. Protestant writers grant that Melanchthon's explanation is extremely far-fetched. To give a few instances. "The donkey's head is the pope. The Church has a spiritual body, and therefore can have no head except Christ. The pope made himself the exterior bodily head, and just as a donkey's head fits upon a human body, so the pope fits upon the Church. The human hand signifies the pope's worldly government, because although there should be none, the pope has brought it about that he possesses all the power over kings. The right hindleg, being that of a bull, signifies the servants of the spiritual power, the papal teachers, parish priests, confessors, but especially the theologi scholastici. The breast and belly are the pope's body, namely the cardinals, bishops, monks, students, and other like prostitutes and fat pigs."—Evidently it required a considerable amount of superstitous credulity not to find these and other explanations of the "pope-donkey" both arbitrary and artificial.

The second prodigy was a deformed calf born at Freyberg in

Saxony, and as far as we can gather from an original picture, it had one foreleg drawn up, and showed a number of hairless patches all over the body, one bare spot on the head with two round bumps protruding from it, and two folds of heavy superfluous skin extending from the back downward. Luther changed the likeness very considerably. He gave to the monster an upright, man-like position and made the face somewhat human. One of the forelegs hangs down loosely, while the other has the shape of a human arm and a hoof instead of a hand, and is at the same time extended, so as to give to the whole figure the appearance of a preacher. The heavy folds of skin he transformed into a monk's cowl, and gave to the whole body a greater slenderness to make it look more human. In the distorted features no eyes are visible.

Luther prefaces his interpretation by a lengthy instruction, telling his readers that without any doubt God reveals His will by such prodigies, and that consequently it would be sinful stubbornness not to follow the teachings they impart. Obstinacy, he says, is signified by the thick skin at the neck, which looks like a monk's cowl. "That God should have clad a calf in the clerical garb, the holy habit, indicates that very soon it will become clearly known that the whole monk's and nun's business is nothing but false, lying sham and an empty make-believe of spiritual life. The habit, which appears torn, represents the lack of union among them. The legs signify the impertinent brethren, the teachers, *magistri nostri eximii.* The calf has the pose of a preacher, and, as the pope-donkey signifies the papacy, so this monk-calf stands for the pope's apostles and disciples to let the whole world know what sort of preachers and teachers they have been and still are listening to. The calf has no eyes, to remind of the blind leading the blind."

Besides making a laughing-stock of the religious state Luther had in view a more definite purpose. This caricature was to form a strong appeal to the monks and nuns to leave their monasteries. After repeating his caution that God had spoken through this monster he addresses the religious: "Be on your guard, ye monks and nuns. The matter is serious. Do not take God's warning as a joke. Become different monks and nuns, or leave your monasteries and put off your habits, and become

Christians again. And especially do I entreat you, my dear lords of the nobility, who have children and friends in the convents, to assist them in escaping from their gruesome and dangerous state."

If the explanation of the first monster was unsatisfactory, the signification put on the monk-calf is still more forced and unnatural, especially since Luther had first reconstructed the figure so as to make it less unsuited for the divine message it was intended to convey.

But the pictures and their interpretations did their service. Three successive editions are known to have been printed in Wittenberg, and five more in other cities, and the pamphlet was translated into Dutch, French, and English. Luther himself was pleased most of all with the pope-donkey, which became one of his stock phrases returning again and again in his letters, sermons, and larger publications.

In 1524, the year after the appearance of the description of the "two gruesome monsters," the terrible Peasants' War devastated a great part of Germany. The defeat of the misled peasants was felt by many to be a bad omen for the new doctrine, and Luther thought it advisable to demonstrate, by a new vigorous onslaught, that he had by no means lost courage. He sent forth a new picture book, entitled, *The Papacy Painted and Described in its Members.* The body of the work does not seem to be of Luther's own design, but he fathered it by a preface and epilogue, and it has found its place in the Opera-Omnia editions of his works.

In the preface he declares that he is not one of those who think that enough has been done to vilify the pope in writings, books, and leaflets, in poems and songs and pictures. No, this must go on, especially because now that the rebellious peasants are beaten, the papists again raise their head. "Therefore, good friends, let us begin anew to write and rhyme and sing and picture, and to show up the noble brood of idolaters, as they deserve it. Woe to him that remains idle. And to make a beginning, I send out this booklet to you as a new-year's present."

The book consists of sixty-five representations of individual ecclesiastics, pope, cardinal, bishop, secular priest, etc. The largest portion is given to the religious. Eight lines of "poetry,"

with thirty-six in the case of the pope, all full of sarcasm and derision, are added to each picture. The book, he says, has been sent to him by pious friends, (probably from Nürnberg), and the verses are the handiwork of the cobbler-poet Hans Sachs.

Here is one specimen. "These men are called Premonstratensians, and their life is known to everybody. They are clad in white, which they say signifies their perfect purity. Yes I believe it, when they sleep. They carouse and feast and are drunk all day. This is the most arduous duty of their order. Nothing good in them besides." The Premonstratensians, by the way, are one of those religious orders to which Germany owes an immense debt of gratitude not only for spiritual benefits but for civilization as well, and even, in some way, for the extent of its boundaries. In like manner all other religious and ecclesiastical institutions are made to run the gauntlet.

The book sold like hot cakes. Many were the reprints of the Wittenberg edition. Other cities issued their own editions more or less altered.

Luther did not remain alone. His exhortation to write and sing and picture against the papacy was heeded by his disciples. Anti-Catholic cartoons on single sheets, in pamphlets, and as illustrations in books flooded the towns and villages. One tangible result of this campaign was the elimination of Luther's ablest antagonists, the Dominicans and Franciscans, from the ranks of his adversaries. The people became accustomed to transfer the laxity which unfortunately reigned in a goodly number of ecclesiastical stations and monastic houses to the ecclesiastic and religious life as such, and to attribute the abuses for which individuals alone were responsible to the nature of their rules of life. This blind, thoughtless, but deep-seated detestation of all things Catholic passed from generation to generation down to our own time, though in many localities, perhaps, its manifestations became less crude and demonstrative.

The *Passionale of Christ and Antichrist*, the illustrations of the Apocalypse, the *Explanation of the Two Gruesome Prodigies, The Papacy with its Members Pictured and Described* appeared within the short space of five years, 1521-1526. Together with an exuberant anti-Catholic literature these picture books did their destructive work. For some time it seems Lu-

ther left the field of the polemic caricature to others, especially the artists and the printers. In large districts of Germany religious art lay prostrate, because the new creed condemned pictures, statues, and every kind of religious representations. Nor was there much of a field for secular art. The bitter religious feuds, fought in church and marketplace, in townhalls and beerhouses and workshops, suppressed that joy of life that is the only atmosphere in which genuine art can thrive. But the anti-Catholic caricature was a new subject. The artists took to it, the printers found that it paid. Some invented pictures of their own; others, with more or less freedom, imitated the productions of the Wittenberg presses. And the peddlers, who pervaded the villages and byways of the provinces, made a good profit by selling them to the country folk.

But Luther was far from abandoning this effective weapon entirely. In 1538 he again began to wield it personally. But he now preferred the single-sheet picture. His first production was his favorite idea, the pope-donkey. He fixed up the former likeness more drastically and issued it with some telling rhymes. Next came a new subject, printed on a larger sheet. It represented Judas and the pope hung from the broken Keys of Peter as a gallows. Their common coat-of-arms, the money bag, is seen between them. A long set of rhymes, composed in Luther's popular style, explained the meaning. This was the time when the reigning pontiff, Paul III, pursued with great vigor the plan of summoning a General Council, of which Luther was not a little afraid. Hence the reawakening of the picture campaign with pictures directed expressly against the pope.

Several more single sheets appeared between 1538 and 1545. But the year 1545, the last of Luther's life, is the banner year of his fury against the Vicar of Christ. Almost feverishly he began the publication of a number of cartoons, which his friends later on bound together in a pamphlet. The first number of the series is again the pope-donkey. The second showed the ascension of the pope from the open mouth of hell. Another represented Pope Clement IV as decapitating in person the unfortunate Conradin, the last scion of the house of Hohenstaufen, though it is well known that this deed of Charles of Anjou had in no way been suggested or encouraged by the pope. On an-

other picture the pope and three cardinals are strung up on a gallows. Their souls, in the shape of shaded figures, are carried away by devils. One devil is just taking hold of that of the pope, while the executioner nails the pope's tongue to the gallows.

The other pictures I do not venture to describe. Certainly few caricatures have ever been drawn that are more hideous, more vulgar, more obscene than these cartoons which without any doubt were Luther's own conception. These pictures, too, found countless buyers. To gauge the effect of the campaign which was thus carried on by the printed picture, we must not lose sight of the fact that they were always in keeping with Luther's other publications of the time being, by which they were supplemented and which in turn they strongly supported. They had the advantage over the printed writing that they also forcibly appealed to the illiterate, and this the more as they were nearly always excellently executed.[2] And all of this was done, or at least started, when the bulk of the productions of the press was still good, most of the existing publications simply being reprints of well-tried, old, and venerable manuscript books. The printed page spoke with greater authority than it does now.

The single-sheet prints in particular were destined not only to be viewed while reading an illustrated book, but also to be stuck up on the walls of the homes, in dwelling rooms and kitchens, in the inns and workshops and assembly halls. I do not doubt that each copy was beheld on the average by two hundred persons. At first many people may have recoiled from the vulgar productions; but when these continued to be poured into the population year after year, when books and pamphlets told the same story of calumny with the same indecency, while pastors and itinerant preachers kept dinning it into their ears, they gradually came to believe what in the beginning they had looked upon as dismal lies. The young generation at any rate grew up

2 From the standpoint of the engraver nearly all of Luther's cartoons are masterpieces. Most of them saw the light in the workshop of Lucas Cranach, who put his talents at the disposal of anybody that was willing to pay him. He produced beautiful Madonnas for Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz, lascivious Venuses for rich voluptuaries, and vilifying caricatures for the propagators of the "Gospel."

in this atmosphere of blind and fierce hatred against everything Catholic.

In extenuation of Luther's guilt it has been pointed out that the times and manners were rougher, not to say coarser, than ours. They no doubt were. If this were a real excuse, however, we should find the same vulgarity also in the religious and polemical writings of his Catholic adversaries. These, indeed, employed caricatures, too, and occasionally even in a manner which does not strike us as very becoming. But F. Grisar boldly challenges the Protestant historians to collect and publish the polemical pictures of the Catholics. They will discover very little if anything that can compare either in violence or numbers with the productions of Luther and the Lutherans of that age. And if the times were rougher than ours, this inundation of unspeakable vilification and obscenity, kept up for twenty-five years, could only make them still more coarse and vulgar. In fact, during the rest of the century the influence of Luther's fighting methods is clearly visible in the literary manners of his disciples.

F. Grisar has been commended by both Catholic and Protestant critics for the moderation he shows in his writings, above all in the *Life of Luther*. He destroyed a number of so-called Luther legends, which had grown up on Catholic soil. He recognized good features in Luther's character, for instance the absence of greed and avarice. But he rightly emphasizes the necessity to show up also the reproachable traits in their full reality. For this purpose he resolved to delve into the mire of Luther's polemical pictures, not an agreeable task for a priest. It is not his fault if the result of his far-reaching and very painstaking investigations is not flattering to Luther.

In the first of the polemical pictures we find expressed huge lies and enormous calumies, with an astounding amount of vulgarity. But there is in them at least an attempt, vain indeed, at proof. In the latter pictures lies and calumies remain, the coarseness increases beyond bounds, but no proofs appear any more. The sole purpose is to give the papacy and its Church over to the ridicule and lowest contempt of the beholder. There reigns in them the unbridled fury of the professional hater of all Catholic institutions. Luther assures us in his last year

that he had not by far done enough in this regard, and that he despairs of ever doing enough. He confides to a friend that he considers his filthy pictures of the pope as a special heirloom which he bequeaths to posterity.[3]

It is not necessary to enter into detail as to the conclusion which forces itself upon us. "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." What must have been in a heart and mind from which for a quarter of a century issued such a torrent of conscious slander, passionate hatred, and almost boundless indecency? Can we be expected to presume that this mind and heart was at the same time filled with and guided by the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth, Charity, and Purity? With pleasure, however, do we fulfil the duty of justice to declare that representative Protestantism in our own days disdains to resort to the methods once so extensively employed by Martin Luther.

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3 This is one of the countless facts that show the absurdity of statements like this: "what he (Luther) precisely meant or would do, no man could tell, least of all himself. He was "out" for protest, and he floated on the crest of the general wave of change. That he ever intended, nay that he could ever have imagined, a disruption of the European unity is impossible." BELLOC, *Europe and the Faith*, p. 220.

THE FUNDAMENTAL CAUSES OF THE DECADENCE OF SPAIN[1]

Spain, a mighty world state in the sixteenth century, declined in the seventeenth and eighteenth to the rank of a second-rate power. States, insignificant when Spain was great, succeeded to her position of dominance. Truly the mighty were put down, and the humble were exalted. This tremendous reversal of the fortunes of the Spanish people has very naturally attracted the attention of writers of history. Unfortunately, however, many of these men have written much as Carlyle wrote when he explained the origins of the Dutch struggle for independence. "Those Dutch people are a strong people. They raised their land out of a marsh, and went on for a long period of time breeding cows and making cheese, and might have gone on with their cows and cheese till doomsday. But Spain comes over and says, 'We want you to believe in St. Ignatius.' 'Very sorry,' replied the Dutch, 'but we can't.' 'God! but you must,' says Spain; and they went about with guns and swords to make the Dutch believe in St. Ignatius. Never made them believe in him, but did succeed in breaking their own vertebral column forever, and raising the Dutch into a great nation."

When Columbus returned from his first voyage in the spring of 1493, he brought to Spain not only curious treasures from the Indies, but also problems as novel in the experience of men as the uncharted seas he had sailed. Navigation had not rendered crossing the stormy waters of the Atlantic appreciably easier for the Spaniards than traversing the placid, land-locked Mediterranean from the Levant to the Pillars of Hercules had been for the ancients. The continental parts of the New World to which Columbus had led the way presented physical and climatic difficulties greater than any which ancient or mediaeval colonizing peoples had had to meet. Not in many centuries had white men encountered a race ethnologically so diffierent, and, if the negro is excepted, culturally so inferior to them as the Indian. Hidden in the Andes and in their northern reaches, were vast stores of

1 Paper read at the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Catholic Historical Association, Philadelphia, December 29-31, 1924.

gold and silver which on being brought to the Old World seriously disturbed prices and so contributed to the general confusion of its affairs and to the undoing of Spain.

Spain was by nature ill-prepared to cope with trans-oceanic tasks so novel and so great. The mountain complex of the peninsula divided the people among several great states each of which was composed of a greater or less number of small sections the populations of which were often also of different racial or tribal origin. Portugal in the west had become independent in the Middle Ages, and pursued its own courses without regard for the interests of the remainder of the peninsula. Aragon in the east developed interests in the Mediterranean that brought it into collision with France. The Moors occupied the south. Castile presided over the central plateau region. In this section the mountains divided the sparse population which they permitted into nearly as many groups as there were valleys. An unevenly distributed rainfall emphasized the importance of the mountains by making the rivers nearly useless for any kind of communication and by condemning the people more largely to pastoral than to agricultural pursuits. These conditions combined with a coastline in the north and southwest that was interrupted by few good harbors, to most of which the mountains denied an adequate *hinterland,* limited industrial and commercial progress. The greater part of Castile, therefore, lingered long in a natural economy, and the economic ideas characteristic of this mediaeval regime long influenced Spanish economic thinking and conduct.

The handicaps which nature had imposed on Spain were made more serious by the Moorish Wars. These wars, in reality crusades, for centuries absorbed and confined the energies of the people to their own peninsula. Other peoples were drawn out of themselves by their crusading activity; they profited by it and were done with it. Even Portugal and Aragon owed their progress as much to the loss of their Moorish frontiers to Castile as to their favorable geographical conditions and location on the sea coast.

The habits formed under the influence of the Castilian environment and strengthened by these wars lacked economic purpose. The Castilian crusader was a man practised in self-denial and in obedience, and was filled with knightly ideals. His self-

denial did not imply thrift; his obedience did not comprehend conformity with the routine of labor in the field, or in the shop, or on board the merchant ship. For the Castilian, consequently, working for his country may be said to have been harder than dying for his country. Nowhere in western Europe did the historical circumstances of a people articulate more perfectly with their environment to unfit them for substantial economic progress of the kind called for in the modern commercial, or money economy.

In 1469 Isabella, the heiress of Castile, and Ferdinand, the heir of Aragon, paved the way for the union of the two kingdoms by their marriage. Castile, however, dominated the new Spain in consequence of the virility of her people and of her discovery of America. The conservatism and all the other qualities of the Castilian people became Spanish in the eyes of the world, for the progress which Aragon had made did not promptly change the character of the principal people.[2] Aragonese characteristics also became Spanish in the eyes of the world, for on the death of Isabella in 1504 Ferdinand could freely use Castilian resources in order to gain his own ends. When as a result of one of the international marriages negotiated by these sovereigns, the imperialist Hapsburgs began their rule in the peninsula, the sectional distinctions apparently became of vanishing importance. In reality, however, Spain was more Castilian than Aragonese. This fact imparts to the geographic and crusading factors of the Castilian element pan-Spanish importance.

The crusading zeal born of the long drawn-out Castilian wars with the infidel survived the capture of the last Moorish stronghold in 1492. This achievement gave new life to the crusading idea in Spain. Even the prospect of success in the Moorish war had given purpose to the plans of Columbus; the realization of success affected Spanish conduct in the Americas for decades. In Europe Spanish crusading zeal unfortunately found an outlet which contributed much to the undoing of the nation and to the diverting of its strength and attention from its main task in the New World. Aragon and the Reformation were the occasions.

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2 Castile was averse, for example, to too close connection with Aragon because, among other reasons, the political institutions of Aragon were freer than hers. MERRIMAN, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New.* New York, 1918, II, 221.

Although Aragon was overshadowed by Castile, the enmity with France which Aragon had developed was to prove disastrous to Castile.[3] The wars of the seventeenth century that are ascribed to Spain as a whole were originally due to Aragon's territorial ambitions in Italy and on the Pyrenees frontier, or to her commercial interests in the Mediterranean. To these quarrels of Ferdinand's Charles V added some that were incidental to his being elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1519, and some that were the inevitable result of the rise of protestantism in his German dominions. Though Philip did not succeed to all the territories ruled by his father, he got such as, through the militant character of the type of protestantism that spread in them, would whet the appetite of any Spaniard for a holy war. The crusading spirit of Spain might as gloriously spend itself in fighting the heretic as in fighting the infidel. The war with his Dutch subjects, however, speedily lost nearly all of its religious character. On the part of Spain the contest became one of defense against the maritime attacks of the Dutch in the West and East Indies. The gold and silver of America and the lucrative trade of Asia became the paramount issue in the struggle. So profitable, indeed, was the Spanish war for the Netherlanders that they signed the Twelve Years' Truce of 1609 with much reluctance. They not only gained by trading with Spain herself, but also by engrossing much of the Spanish-America commerce, and by wresting from the Portuguese, united with Spain from 1580 to 1640, their monopoly of the East India trade. Once in the meshes of such a war with his own subjects, Philip could, if he had wished, neither have avoided continuing the old quarrel with anti-Hapsburg France, in which the confessional kin of the Netherlanders

3 France promptly attacked the shipping of Castile. Columbus met French corsairs near the Canaries in 1492, and on returning from his third voyage sailed via the Madeiras in order to avoid a French fleet waiting for him near Cape St. Vincent. Some of Cortez's Mexican loot fell into the hands of French corsairs. HARING, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs. Harvard Economic Studies*, XIX. Cambridge, 1918, pp. 68 ff. CORBETT contends that the French set the English bad example. *Drake and the Tudor Navy*. London, 1898, I, 147-148. Ferdinand proposed to the nations general measures in restraint of piracy, but the evil was beyond the control of the governments. The Reformation and the flow of treasure from the New World to Spain made the temptation of piracy so great that nothing ever came of this or later proposals. BURKE, *History of Spain.... to the death of Ferdinand the Catholic*. London, 1900, II, 327, citing *Cal. State Papers*, I, 113.

was striving for mastery, nor have escaped precipitating a conflict with England, in which the urge for commercial expansion and a feeling for championing the protestant cause combined to dictate anti-Spanish courses. Beyond 1598, the year of the death of Philip II, these wars need hardly be traced, for in Philip's day Spain was already declining.

Their crusading zeal bespeaks for the Spanish people intense religious feeling, and to this feeling many of the ills that led to their decline are often traced. Spain was a field in which the cockle grew as well as the wheat. Heresies which had thriven in the Middle Ages might thrive again.[4] Even that sturdy champion of the Catholic Reformation, Philip II, was far from being subservient to the Pope. The Inquisition, however, was an ecclesiastical instrument used for political as well as religious ends. It met with popular acceptance as much for secular as for religious reasons. The apparently instinctive distrust which a people living and thinking largely in terms of a natural economy has for a people that is in a money economy was in Spain intensified by peculiar conditions. Spanish Christian group consciousness asserted itself especially with respect to foreigners, Moors, and Jews. Foreigners, being usually Christian and when resident in Spain not firmly grouped, could more easily be assimilated than the Moors and Jews whose alien racial and religious character knit them into strong and easily distinguishable groups. Having taken centuries to conquer the Moors, the Spaniards had little reason to trust them. If developments in the Near East are taken into account, the Spaniards had much reason to fear them.[5] The Moors in Spain helped their brethren in Africa to prey upon the Spanish Mediterranean and American trade, and to enslave Christian souls. The Jews, quite excusably, carried water on both shoulders. Having no quarrel with

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4 RODRIGUEZ, "Protestantism in Spain" in *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XII, 614.

5 In the sixteenth century commercial interests in the Levant, rivalry with Spain in the New World, and dynastic and religious prejudices caused the English and the Dutch, and even the French to encourage the Turks in their attacks on Spain. For an account of Anglo-Turkish relations about 1588 see PEARS, "The Spanish Armada and the Ottoman Porte" in *English Historical Review*, VIII, 459-466. For French commercial relations with Turkey see Angell, "The Turkish Capitulations" in *American Historical Review*, VI. 254-259, also in American Historical Association *Annual Report*, 1900. Washington, 1901, I, 513-519. See MAYR, "The Economic Development of Western Europe since the time of the Crusades" in Helmolt (ed.), *History of the World*. New York, 1902, VII, 64.

the Moors, they traded with these enemies of Spain after as well as before the fall of Granada, and at the same time insinuated themselves into the highest councils of the Spanish court. Even the hierarchy, feudal and ecclesiastical, was not free from the danger of contamination by them. In view of the increasing importance of the Jews whose possession of mobile capital identified them with the spread of the money economy in Spain, this insinuation was as natural as the suspicion and alarm, if not jealousy which it aroused in the hearts of the majority of the Spanish people. The expulsion of the Jews and the Moors was, therefore, but the laying of the axe to the roots of a tree which the fires of the Inquisition scorched but did not completely burn.

Were the Inquisition and the expulsion of the Jews and the Moors as unfortunate for Spain as they have been pictured? The Inquisition saved Spain from protestantism and from religious, perhaps political disunion. Economic progress was not more likely to come to Spain through its apostasy than it did to the northern states through their apostasy.[6] For Spain protestant-

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6 Protestantism, the ethics of which "are, far more than those of Catholicism oriented by a reference to this world," is said to have harmonized well with developments in the states and with the evolution of the modern capitalistic regime. SMITH, *Age of the Reformation.* New York, 1920, pp. 747-748. It might have been more accurate to say that protestantism succumbed to the state and to capitalism. As Prof. Smith himself says, "there was no practical alternative to putting the final authority in spiritual matters, after the pope had been rejected, into the hands of the civil government." Expediency modified the attitude of the reformers toward the money economy which in their day had not yet been established in all parts of Europe. Calvin, for example, condemned interest-taking, but, when he saw how necessarily the English refugees who fled from Mary to the Calvinistic parts of the continent were drawn into the business, wavered. "Si totallement nous defendons," he argued, "les usures nous estraignons les consciences dun lien plus estroict que Dieu mesme. Si nous permettons le moins du monde plusieurs aincontinent soubs ceste couverture prennent une licence efrenée dont ils ne peuvent porter que par aulcune exception on leur limite quelque mesure." CUNNINGHAM, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce.* Cambridge, 1912, II, 155 note 2, citing "Corpus Reformatorum," CALVINI, *Opera,* X, i, 245. Dean Cunningham shows how in England "no room was left for authoritative insistence on moral, as distinguished from legal obligations; the success of Puritanism meant the triumph of the new commercial morality." See also THOMPSON, *Wars of Religion in France, 1559-1576.* Chicago, 1909, p. 217. One of the results of this succumbing of protestantism to nationalism and capitalism that is of significance with respect to the decline of Spain is suggested by Haring. "The religious differences and political jealousies which grew out of the turmoil of the Reformation, and the moral anarchy incident to the dissolution of ancient religious institutions, were the motive causes for an outburst of piratical activity comparable only with the professional piracy of the Barbary States." *The Buccaneers in the West Indies in the Seventeenth Century.* London, 1910, pp. 28-29.

ism would have been quite disastrous. The civil wars that everywhere followed the introduction of the new faiths would, considering the sectional spirit rampant in the country, have been most bitter, and would have prevented the Spanish people from making the beginning which they did in America.[7] A protestant Spain would have as readily despoiled the American aborigines of their treasure, as assiduously searched for El Dorados, and having found them, as mercilessly exploited the Indians in their development, and as unscrupuously amassed the ingots for herself as a Catholic Spain. The protestant Dutch and English would not have spared a protestant Spain in their striving for riches any more than they spared each other. Politically the Inquisition irritated protestants who had business interests in Spain, and tended to complicate rather than to smooth diplomatic relations. This irritation and these complications may, however, as properly be attributed to Spanish commercial regulations that were designed to preserve to Spain all the advantages to be derived from the possession of colonies, and particularly to safeguard the transport of American treasure to Spain and to hold it there.[8] The tortuous policies of the imperialist Hapsburgs were likewise productive of unkindly international relations. That the expulsion of the Moors and Jews deprived Spain of diligent agricultural and industrial workers and of experienced entrepreneurs with considerable stocks of mobile

7. The civil wars in France for a time eliminated that nation from the list of Spain's rivals, though the Huguenot faction was always troublesome. England's entry into the colonial field was also delayed by the religious dissensions of the Tudor period. Spain benefited by these respites, and amassed a stock of experiences on which the northern states drew and improved. The Dutch came into the colonial field directly through their war with Spain, but they also drew on Spanish and Portuguese experiences. Sebastian Cabot's ordinances for the conduct of the Chancellor and Willoughby expedition to the White Sea reflect a half century of Spanish experiences with which he had become acquainted in the course of his service with Spain. WILLIAMSON, *Maritime Enterprise*, 1485-1558. Oxford 1913, p. 315. See also HARING, *Trade and Navigation*, pp. 23-24; KELLER, *Colonization: a Study in the Founding of New Societies*. Boston, 1908, p. 228.

8 The Inquisition was responsible for the concentration of the English cloth trade to Spain at Lisbon. When Portugal became part of Spain this trade was much interfered with. Compare, however, the efforts of Spain to build up her industries. SHILLINGTON and CHAPMAN, *Commercial Relations of England and Portugal*. London, 1907, p. 157.. WILLIAMSON thinks that the sons of the men whose Spanish trade had been vexed by the Inquisition in the time of Henry VIII became the sea-raiders of the time of Elizabeth. The Inquisition troubled such men as Hawkins and Drake very little. *Maritime Enterprise*, p. 223.

capital cannot be denied. There is, however, some reason to believe that the industrialism of the Moors has been exaggerated,[9] and there is little reason to think that Jewish commercial and financial genius would have enabled Spain to surmount the tremendous difficulties presented by America or to resist the onslaughts of Europe. A Jewish or Moorish economic ascendancy in Spain would have put down rather than raised up the "infant" business acumen of the Spaniards. In the Netherlands and in England the Jews engaged in industry and in trade without getting such complete control of either as they doubtless would have got in Spain, because there existed in the northern states a numerous, experienced and well-established class of industrial and commercial magnates.[10] In short, the expulsion of the Jews and Moors gave Spaniards opportunities which they would otherwise not have had.

Other evils besides the Inquisition, and the expulsion of the Jews and Moors, and such, for which the Church is held responsible are connected with feudalism. With feudalism are associated many ills among which may be mentioned decentralization in government, class distinctions, the concentration of land in the hands of a small minority of the population, and serfdom. Feudalism, too, affected the progress of agriculture. The ills are in reality very largely the results of the conditions which gave rise to feudalism itself—a natural economy and foreign invasion. From feudalism they got, however, a more definite form and a more tenacious life which enabled them to persist long after the

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9 BONN, *Spaniens Niedergang waehrend der Preisrevolution des 16. Jahrhunderts. Muenchner volkswirthschaftliche Studien*, XII. Stuttgart, 1896, p. 78.

10 The Jews were as much in control of vital economic interests in Spain as they were in Portugal where they financed the annual East India fleets, and at Antwerp where they monopolized the sale of East India goods to Europe. EHRENBERG, *Das Zeitalter der Fugger: Geldkapital und Creditverkehr im 16. Jahrhundert.* Jena, 1922, II, 213; LANNOY et VANDER LINDEN, *Histoire de l'expansion des peuples Européens.* Brussels, 1907, II, 8. EDMUNDSON notes the prominence of Jews in the Amsterdam and Zealand Chambers of the Dutch West India Company, which in large measure owed its foundation to the Dutch desire to take full advantage of the war with Spain. A list of the names of the men in these Chambers contained 6 Jacobs, 17 Johannes, 7 Abrahams, besides Simon, Samuel, Elias, Jonas, Jeremias, David, Daniel, Mathias, and Job. In a letter of 1684 from the Company to its commander at Essequibo nearly every name is Jewish. "Early Relations of the Manoas with the Dutch, 1606-1732" in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXI, 246 note 66.

institutions on which they appeared to be grafted had ceased to be dominant. The power of the nobles was finally broken by Ferdinand and Isabella, and by their successor, Charles V, and the monarchs became absolute.[11] Nobiliary distinctions, however, did not perish, and the hidalgo class, which had so consistently fought against the Moor, remained as much as ever the favorite of the nation. Everyone wished to be an hidalgo. Fit or unfit, incorrupt or corrupt, the hidalgo held the offices, national, provincial, and local. The sectionalism which was the basis of much of Spanish feudal decentralization, continued to vex internal trade. The greater nobles who had been deprived of their political power wasted or neglected their estates. Under the influence of the Renaissance with which Spain had contacts through her relations with Italy they developed extravagant tastes which the gold and silver of America enabled them to indulge.[12] The nobles did little to promote agriculture.

Agricultural prostration was due, however, as much to the Moorish wars and to the predominance of pastoral interests as to the visionless extravagance of the nobles. Great tracts of arable land had often been deliberately wasted in order to protect the Christian from Moorish attacks. The private wars of the feudal age had often interfered with the development of agriculturally promising sections. Farming always was secondary to grazing. Associations of sheep-raisers had early been formed and endowed with privileges that enabled them to disregard the rights of agriculture. In the reign of Alphonso XI (1312-1350) these associations were united into what is known as the *Mesta*, which possessed privileges that were deadly to both agriculture and forestry. Though a considerable section of Castile was set aside for the sheep-walk of the corporation, so powerful was it that it could with impunity let its animals wander beyond the legal limits.[13] The stimulation of industry which followed the colonial demands confirmed the *Mesta* in its privileges at a time when it was very important that agriculture be enabled to yield

11 For the character of the Spanish absolute monarchy see MAYR in Helmol (ed.), *History of the World*, VII, 87.

12 For some details see BONN, *Spaniens Niedergang*, pp. 177-178.

13 For the attitude of Ferdinand and Isabella toward farming and grazing see HAEBLER, *Die wirtschaftliche Bluete Spaniens im 16. Jahrhundert und ihr Verfall. Historische Untersuchungen herausgegeben von J. Jastrow*, HEFT 9. Berlin, 1888, pp. 27-29.

provisions for both the country and the city populations. Agriculture could not meet this demand, and Spain found it necessary to import even staple food-stuffs from hostile France and from the Baltic regions in the ships of the hostile Dutch.

Agriculture suffered also from the lack of an adequate and fit laboring population. The nature of the country did not call forth a large population; perhaps four or five million in the days of Ferdinand and Isabella. The greater part of the rural class lived on the estates of the crown, the Church, and the nobility. The number of independent farmers was not large. Some, indeed, think that *the* cause of Spanish economic decline is to be sought in the evils connected with the land-holding system.[14] Little could be expected of the country population if the landed classes had other interests than the development of an industry that was of secondary importance. The masses imitated the classes. Foreigners came into some sections of Spain to till the fields and to harvest the crops[15] while Spaniards idled away their time or sought to relieve the misery that was theirs in recourse to the Church.

From its vast properties the Church apparently derived a great income. Not all of this income, however, went into the coffers of the Church. Some of the income was diverted to the crown when it absorbed the Grand Masterships of the military-religious orders that had been called into existence by the Moorish wars. Some of it was paid over to the sovereigns in what were equivalent to "forced loans." Some of it was devoted to the founding of the missions in the New World which extended and protected the Spanish frontiers and disseminated Spanish culture among the Indians. Not a little of the income that remained was either doled out in alms, or taken up by the support of the many who turned religious in order to escape the evils of

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14 DAMASCHKE, *Geschichte der National Oekonomie*. Jena, 1905, pp. 115-116.

15 Many of these foreigners, especially Frenchmen, returned to their homes after their work in Spain was done, much as the Italians used to come to Argentina for the harvesting weeks of December and January and return to their own fields in Italy for the summer and fall work there. The migration into and out of Spain every year was, of course, not solely due to the character of the Spanish population. The influx of American gold and silver into Spain made such wandering profitable. LEVASSEUR, *Histoire du Commerce de la France*. Paris, 1911, I, 230, 275; BRYCE, *South America: Observations and Impressions*. New York, 190, p. 332.

the general economic depression. The distress of the people was ordinarily too great to be ignored. The Church can hardly be criticized for carrying them too much. The parasitism was unfortunate for both the Church and the State. Yet it may not be said that to it is due the depopulation of Spain. The falling off in the numbers of the people is clearly a consequence of the more primary causes of Spanish decadence.

Industrially Spain was even more backward than she was agriculturally. Wool sheared from her sheep was regularly exported to be made into fabrics and then returned to Spain. Such a course was far from being profitable commercially, unless the balance necessarily accruing against Spain were otherwise met, say by the income of investments abroad, an extensive carrying trade, the export of luxuries for immediate consumption. A union with Portugal would apparently have been more advantageous (and in other respects, perhaps, more fortunate) for Castile than the union with Aragon. The commercial defect due to the undeveloped state of the industries of Spain became irremediable when the colonies began to call for manufactured goods. There followed, of course, a stimulation of industry. Manufactories sprang up and people moved from the country into the cities. All that complex of conditions that had developed out of the fundamental factors of Spanish life, environment and the Moorish wars, conspired, however, to offset the progress of industry in Spain. Specifically, the industrial entrepreneur could not draw upon a population that was naturally adapted to living the confined and regular life of industry.[16] The Hapsburg wars made commercial movements and, therefore, returns from industry irregular. Conditions generally were uncertain. The cost

16 The aversion of the Spanish people for work has been made much of as a cause of their decline. The Church also is criticized for encouraging this fault by the celebration of too many feasts. There is no doubt much truth in these statements. Other factors, however, enter into the situation. Were not the Spaniards an out-door people? So far as industry is concerned they felt much like the school-boy in springtime feels about the routine of school. BONN gives some interesting reasons for the Spaniards' aversion for labor, among them "eine Art von Fatalismus.....Fast moechte man hier eine Einwirkung orientalischer Anschauungen vermuten." As late as 1779, for example, the Catalonians ventured to insure a French fleet which no one in England or the Netherlands was willing to secure. The business ended in bankruptcy. *Spaniens Niedergang*, pp. 79-83.

of the wars[17] led to the imposition of crushing taxes[18] and the adoption of vicious financial courses. Although the repudiations of the debt, or the bankruptcies[19] to which the government from time to time resorted in order to escape the grip of its foreign creditors primarily affected these money-lending concerns, the crises were so many killing frosts for the tender shoots of Spanish industrialism. Every effort fell short of the demand. In 1545 Spanish industry was already six years behind in the filling of its colonial orders.[20]

The gold and silver which came to Spain from her colonies completed the ruin of her economic life. Apart from the complexities caused by fluctuations in the import of the metals as a result of the wars, and by the fact that much more silver than gold was thrown upon the market, which worked havoc with the coinage ratios of the metals, the problems which this influx presented by reason of its volume alone[21] were as difficult of solution as they were new. Never before had Europe got so much gold and silver. Spain, indeed, had found in America the elixir of commercial life. Europe produced little silver and less gold, and the greater part of the slight stock that slowly accumulated in the course of the Middle Ages was soon either unproductively

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17 EHRENBERG, *Zeitalter der Fugger*, I, 13; II, 223-224; BONN, *Spaniens Niedergang*, pp. 86, 181-182; HARING, *Trade and Navigation*, p. 166 and note 3; THOMPSON, *Wars of Religion*, p. 341, note 3.

18 Some of these taxes were clearly medieval, and totally unsuited for a commercial regime. For discussions see HAEBLER, *Wirtschaftliche Bluete Spaniens*, pp. 145 ff.; Wirminghaus, *Zwei Spanische Merkantilisten; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Nationaloekonomie. Sammlung nationaloekonomischer und statistischer Abhandlungen des staatswissenschaftlichen Seminars zu Halle.....herausgegeben von Dr. Joh. Conrad*, Band IV, Heft 2. Jena, 1886; LANNOY et VANDER LINDEN, *Histoire de l'Expansion des peuples Européens*, I, 414-15.

19 Repudiations, or bankruptcies occurred in 1557, 1575, 1596, 1607, 1627, 1647, 1656, 1662, 1678, and 1694. For details see EHRENBERG, *Zeitalter der Fugger, passim*, HAEBLER, *Wirtschaftliche Bluete Spaniens, passim;* DAMASCHKE, *Geschichte der National Oekonomie*, pp. 116-117; LANNOY et VANDER LINDEN, *Histoire de l'Expansion des peuples Européens*, I, 431.

20 BONN, *Spaniens Niedergang*, pp. 109-110.

21 There have been many estimates. KELLER, *Colonization*, pp. 208-210, gives several of them. For later estimates see HARING, *Trade and Navigation*, pp. 162 ff.; "American Gold and Silver Production in the first half of the Sixteenth Century" in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXIX, 433-479. For a general treatment of the Price Revolution and tables of index numbers see Wiebe, *Zur Geschichte der Preisrevolution des XVI. und XVII Jahrhunderts. Staats-und socialwissenschaftliche Beitraege herausgegeben von* A. VON MIASKOWSKI, Band II, Heft 2. Leipzig, 1895, *passim.*

fixed, or drained off in settlement of the unfavorable balances which regularly accompanied its trade with the Far East. The purchasing power, consequently, of gold and silver was great, and prices *ceteris paribus* proportionally low. The stimulation of trade by the Crusades necessitated the more extensive use of money in business, and the continued expansion of trade led to the demand for the coinage of ever greater quantities of gold and silver. Credit was not unknown, but the development of its mechanism to a point at which metallic money is so nearly eliminated from business transactions as it is to-day seems to imply the extensive intervention of a tangible measure and standard of values, present and future. Spain's discovery of gold and silver mines in America, consequently, provided her with that which all Europe sorely needed, and to which Europe under the circumstances attached perhaps more than due importance as a means of expanding its commercial and industrial activities to the limit of their visible possibilities.

These conditions account for the passionate search which the Spaniards made for El Dorados, and the cruelty with which they exploited the Indians. The quest of the other peoples for El Dorados was not less passionate though much less conspicuous in history because, perhaps, the failure of their efforts denied them opportunities for displaying their talent for cruelty. The success of Spain and the failure of the other nations in finding gold and silver mines intensified every feeling of hostility that existed in western Europe. The attempts of Spain to keep the gold and silver from her American possessions within her own limits, met necessarily with little success, but even that little success was unfortunate. It was sufficient to incur for Spain the economic enmity, in addition to the enmity of a dynastic and religious character, of all Europe without making it possible for her successfully to oppose all Europe. The more gold and silver Spain succeeded in retaining, the more did the purchasing power of the metals decline and the higher did prices rise in Spain. Even that little which is known about the course of prices in Spain confirms this conclusion. Haebler cites evidence showing that the purchasing power of gold and silver declined by a half between 1503 and 1558.[22] More important,

22 *Wirtschaftliche Bluete Spaniens*, pp. 160 ff.

perhaps, than the height which prices attained in Spain is the fact that they rose earlier there than in the other countries of Europe. This early rise of prices in Spain is not to be laid exclusively to the effects of the influx of the metals. The demand of the Spanish colonies for commodities that the metropolis should, but could not supply in adequate quantities, was an important factor in the situation. The importation, however, of great quantities of gold and silver did increase the difficulties connected with profitable production in Spain as compared with those obtaining in the Netherlands and in England. Into these countries, thanks to the efforts of Spain to retain the gold and silver, the precious metals flowed always less freely and later than they did into Spain. Such accession naturally stimulated the more favorably situated and the longer and, therefore, better established industries of these countries and through them their trade, the progress of which in turn promoted industry. The very efforts which the people of these states had to put forth because they did not possess mines of gold and silver, sharpened their economic wit and quickened their enterprise. Spain played into the hands of her dangerous industrial competitors of the North. Her people thought, not altogether incorrectly, that the rise in the price of necessities in Spain was due to excessive exportations to the colonies. Spain, moreover, wished to protect the consumer, a desire entirely characteristic of the economic thought of a people still under the influence of a natural economy. The Spanish ports were, therefore, now opened, now closed to the foreigner as old or new ideas were in the ascendancy, or as other considerations—the needs of the treasury, the demands of diplomacy, the imperial views of Charles V—dictated. Whatever the reasons for their inconsistency were such courses inevitably led to industrial disaster.[23]

As naturally as the Spaniards in Spain consulted their interests, so naturally did the Spaniards in America consult theirs.

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23 Foreign imports at once flooded Spain. Gold and silver was drawn off more rapidly, but Spanish economic life was also wrecked. PIGEONNEAU has well summarized the situation with respect to France: "L'Espagne continua a exploiter pour nous les mines du Perou et du Mexique et nous a cultiver pour elle les champs de la Guyenne et du Languedoc." *Histoire du Commerce de la France.* Paris, 1885, II, 99. See also BONN, *Spaniens Niedergang,* pp. 147 ff.

The colonists could not reasonably have been expected to do without the goods which they needed. They had early discovered that goods brought illicitly to their ports by Englishmen and Dutchmen were cheaper than those which were licitly transported in the metropolitan fleets. Merchants in Spain had also learned that it was more profitable to buy goods from the northerners for the colonial market than to buy them from their own Spanish producing constituency. To the colonists English and Dutch goods were as expensive when they came from Seville as Spanish goods. The merchants of Seville and their American correspondents took full advantage of the commercial regulations which the government had devised to safeguard the transport of gold and silver and to preserve the benefits of the colonies to the metropolis.[24] The colonists might have rebelled against these regulations but for their natural devotion to the mother country and for the ease with which they could evade her system. The English, the Dutch, the French, even the Portuguese found that it was easier and much more profitable to sell directly to the Spanish colonists than indirectly by way of Seville. The illicit trade, consequently, grew by leaps and bounds, and the licit trade, between Spain and her colonies, fell off. The galleons, which came from Spain in 1662 (the first in two years) found the American market so glutted with merchandise which the Dutch and other northern traders had brought in, that they had to go back to Spain with a great part of their cargoes unsold[25]

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24 Though monopolistic joint-stock companies of the modern type were unknown in Spain until the eighteenth century, these merchants might have been so organized so far as the effects of their policies are concerned. Seville grew rich as the rest of Spain grew poor. Profits ranged from 300 to 400 per cent. They and their American correspondents kept the colonists regularly undersupplied. LEROY-BEAULIEU, *La Colonization chez les peuples modernes*. Paris, 1908, I, 28-29.

25 HARING, *Trade and Navigation*, pp. 120-121. See also DAHLGREN, *Les Relations commerciales et maritimes entre la France et les côtes de l'Océan Pacifique*. Paris, 1909. By 1600 foreigners had absorbed five-sixths of the trade in manufactured goods to Spain and controlled nine-tenths of her American trade. BONN, *Spaniens Niedergang*, pp. 109-110. Spain paid from 50 to 60 per cent more for cocoa, raised in her own colony, because the Dutch controlled the Caracas trade than she would if she had been able to keep this trade to herself. HARING, *Trade and Navigation*, p. 119. An English memorialist wrote: "Let our neighbors lay what prohibitions or restraints they please on their subjects in those parts. Experience proves that where the cheapness of goods recommends them, their introduction cannot be prevented." HOTBLACK, *Chatham's Colonial Policy*. London, 1917, pp. 5-6.

Under such conditions industry in Spain could but languish and die. Attempts to revive it were abortive. Spanish-American, like Portuguese-American commerce slipped into the hands of foreigners because they could provide it with the necessary industrial nourishment.

Spain could do little to check this illicit trade. To patrol effectively the long coastline of her colonial empire and to hold securely against all comers the many islands in the West Indian waters required a greater number of ships than she could command or commandeer. Even if self-interest had not prompted the colonists to trade with foreigners, and even if corrupt officials, heedless of the effects which this trade would have upon the well-being of the metropolis, had not connived with them in these transgressions, these foreigners could have forced themselves into the Spanish-American market. Spain's empire in America was too enormous, and too disjointed, and too sparsely settled to be preserved to herself.[26] The virility and enterprise of the men who won it for her make Spanish-American history read like romance, but conditions also called for numbers.[27] Spanish-American, like French-American activities began in a region which, apart from the quest for gold and silver, facilitated the dispersion of population. Spain needed far more people to hold her territory than did England to hold the Atlantic seaboard. Valuable raw materials often lay within easy reach of ships at places that could not be defended effectively. The English cut logwood on the Central American coast almost with impunity.[28] The islands, too numerous and too unprofitable to hold became

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26 "Spain is precisely that power against which England can always contend with the fairest prospects of advantage and honour. That extensive monarchy is exhausted at heart and whatever power commands the sea, may command the wealth and commerce of Spain. The dominions from which she draws her resources, lying at an immense distance from the capital and from one another, make it more necessary for her than any other state to temporize, until she can inspire with activity all parts of her enormous but disjointed empire." MAHAN, *Influence of the Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783*. Boston, 1911, p. 327, citing CAMPBELL'S *Lives of the Admirals*.

27 LEROY-BEAULIEU, *La Colonization chez les peuples modernes*, I, 92-93, gives an excellent comparison of Spanish with English America.

28. Logwood was valuable for dying textiles. Though there is record of Englishmen cutting logwood in the time of James I, the business did not become extensive until about 1670. MARSDEN, "The High Court of Admiralty in relation to National History, Commerce, and the Colonization of America" in Royal Historical Society *Transactions*, New Series XVI, 73, citing Admiralty Court Records. See also BEER, *Old Colonial System, 1660-1754*. New York, 1912, I, 360-361; II, 64 ff.

first rendezvous for smugglers and pirates, and then stations from which the northern states and France indirectly attacked important ports and lanes of shipping. Spain did not have a population large enough to settle effectively all her American territory even if her people had been disposed to emigrate, and she had placed no restrictions on their doing so.

The burden, furthermore, of defending so extensive an empire against foreign economic penetration was too great for any European government to undertake, even if it were free from the entanglement of wars with its subjects and neighbors. Private initiative was imperative. There was, however, nothing in the Spanish past to call forth such initiative. Experience, furthermore, proves that, unless public interest is identical with private interest in both the colonies and the metropolis, the general welfare is likely to go begging. The Spanish crown, moreover, had financed the voyages of discovery, and the crown, therefore, looked upon American enterprise as its monopoly. A multitude of precedents for state control of distant trade confirmed the government and the people in this view. Both the expense of fitting out expeditions for the exploring, and the conquering, and the colonizing of the new regions, and the demands of the European wars on the national exchequer forced the government to realize fully and immediately on the colonial investment.[29] Apparently it did not occur to the Hapsburgs, or to any one who had the royal ear, except Menendez, that the cost of building a navy is part of the "overhead" of successful colonial business. Menendez, who appreciated the significance of the Huguenot colony in Florida which he had destroyed, urged Philip II to build a navy for offensive and defensive purposes, but the catastrophe of the Armada had to overtake that monarch before he realized the wisdom of his lieutenant's advice.[30] Over half a century before the year of the Armada Henry VIII, of England, had undertaken the

29 HAEBLER, "Die Fugger und der spanische Gewuerzhandel," in *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins fuer Schwaben und Neuburg*. Augsburg, 1892, XIX, 26-27; MAYR in Helmolt (ed.), *History of the World*, VII, 66.

30 Philip II hired merchantmen from his own subjects and from foreigners for naval service, until in 1580 he got eleven galleons from Portugal. In 1581 nine new galleons were laid for the India service. Most of the ships in the Armada of 1588 were hired, and 64 out of 84 ships in that of 1597. Philip III and Philip IV built war vessels until in 1635 the national resources were at an end. HARING, *Trade and Navigation*, pp. 269 ff.; CORBETT, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, II, 4 ff.

construction of ships to be used exclusively for warfare. Though little was done by Edward VI and Mary to carry forward the naval program of their father, the penurious Elizabeth resumed the building of naval craft. Great sea-captains, like Drake, developed the technique of naval strategy and stimulated both naval and commercial morale by their daring and profitable exploits. A generation of Dutch "Sea Beggars"[31] and interloping traders had developed fleets of merchantmen and battle-ships that won riches and renown for Holland and the other states of the Netherlands. Alone, Spain remained without a navy. Although the northern region, off the Bay of Biscay, built and even sold ships in the Middle Ages to the English, French, and Dutch, and Spanish fishermen did not want daring and skill, Spaniards generally lacked the qualities of a sea-faring race. Castilians for geographical reasons were not mariners. Mediterranean interests, especially when the Turkish menace was most serious, fully occupied Aragonese shipping energies and tended to prolong for all Spain the classical modes of sea-fighting associated with the use of galleys. The American trade emphasized the need of cargo-carrying vessels,[32] that could protect themselves with or without the aid of convoy. Private cupidity increased immensely the demand for space. Ships were frequently so overloaded that stout defense against even an inferior enemy was quite impossible.[33] These conditions together with the distractions of the dynasty, the costs of its wars, and the Price Revolution led to the hiring of privately owned ships, both Spanish and foreign, for commercial as well as for convoy and naval purposes. The incompetence of the Spaniard was met by the employment of

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31 EDMUNDSON shows that the famous "Sea Beggars" who captured Brill (April 1, 1572) were in reality corsairs, who had got commissions as privateers from William of Orange. England for the moment wishing to avoid complications with Spain had denied them the use of English ports in which to refit and to sell their booty. *Cambridge Modern History.* New York, 1918, III, 228-229. The Dutch as well as the English grew rich on their wars with Spain. LASPEYRES, *Geschichte der volkswirthschaftlichen Anschauungen der Niederlaender und ihrer Literatur zur Zeit der Republik. Preisschriften.....der Jablonowski'schen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig.* Leipzig, 1863, pp. 58, 61-63, 79.

32 CORBETT, *Drake and the Tudor Navy,* II, 363-364.

33 Even convoys were laden with merchandise. HARING, *Trade and Navigation, passim.* Both the Dutch and the English East India companies had to contend with the same evil in the Asiatic trade.

foreign sailors, pilots, and masters.[34] Not until 1588 did Spain awaken to the need of a navy, and in the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV, when it was too late to withstand the well-developed naval power of the Northern states, succeeded with great difficulty in building a fleet.

Naval procrastination, however, does not explain entirely the inability of Spain to maintain uninterrupted communication with her colonies and to afford adequate protection to her trade with them. She had to contend with the cupidity of foreigners whose governments countenanced unbridled commercial ambitions. Religiously embittered nationalism succumbed to commercialism. From being the foremost issue in the wars of the sixteenth century religion divided the attention of Europe with commerce and colonies in the seventeenth. In the eighteenth century religious considerations were secondary to those that were worldly and material.[35] The Reformation, too, had deprived Europe of the benefits of even that remnant of arbitral authority which was left the Holy See after its Avignon captivity. Escape from anarchy was possible only by the formulation of an international law, and the commercial states of the north wrote this law very largely to suit their own purposes. The needs of Dutch commercialism, for example, were not out of the mind of Grotius, and some of his doctrines were promptly disputed by Selden who wrote with the needs of English commercialism in mind. Commercial needs, however, are as changing as the winds. The Dutch found Grotius both convenient and inconvenient. They denied him, for example, in their dealings with the Ostend Company and the merchants of the Austrian Netherlands about 1725 and asserted him in the matter of the Greenland fisheries and Eskimo trade little more than a decade later.[36] That there could ever be even moderate agreement as to what the provisions of international law should be, ultimately depended very largely upon the recurring identity of the commercial interests of domi-

34 HARING, *Trade and Navigation*, p. 261; LANNOY et VANDER LINDEN, *Histoire de l'Expansion des peuples Européens*, I, 365.

35 SEELEY, *Expansion of England*. Boston, 1912, I, 79.

36 BLOK, *History of the People of the Netherlands*. New York, 1898, V, 75. See also CHEYNEY, "International Law under Queen Elizabeth" in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XX, 659 ff.; REEVES, "Two Conceptions of the Freedom of the Seas" in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXII, 536-537; DAVENPORT, "America and European Diplomacy to 1648" in Am. Hist. Assoc. Annual Report (1915), pp. 153-161 and her *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648*. Washington, 1917.

nant nations. Whatever the provisions of this law were at any time, they seldom favored Spain and Spanish interests. The diplomacy of her enemies, for example, recognized no peace beyond the "Line," the Tropic of Cancer, or south of the Isle de Fer.[37] Cromwell wrested Jamaica from Spain while Spain was at peace with him. The history of the Asiento of 1713 illustrates the lawless conduct with which Spain had to contend. When she resorted to reprisals, she was accused of violating the amenities of civilized peoples, and was pursued with relentless hostility. Under such conditions could any European power have succeeded in holding colonial empire?

From this sketch the conclusion may perhaps be ventured that Spain declined for more fundamental and less obvious reasons that those that are usually advanced. Geography and the Moorish wars had determined the character of the dominant Spanish people. The Discovery forced these people to play a role in the world for which they were not adapted. Their natural evolution as a people was thwarted. As Carlyle might have put it: The Spaniards are an unwitting people; they herded sheep and fought Moors and might have herded sheep and fought Moors till doomsday, if that Italian, Columbus, had not come along and discovered America for them. The occupations that had filled the lives of the Spanish people did not permit them to make timely adjustments to the conditions which the Discovery thrust upon them. The treasure which the New World yielded made these adjustments even more difficult, if not impossible. American gold and silver seriously embarrassed Spanish economic progress; greatly encouraged the Hapsburgs in the carrying out of plans which further embarrassed this progress, but which the Spanish people readily fell in with because they were suggestive of their ancient crusades; and excited the cupidity of the rest of Europe. Fair play was not characteristic of the conduct of England, France, and the Netherlands toward Spain. An economically progressive Spain that never blundered could not have survived. In short, Fortune seems to have blessed Spain not for her sake, but for the sake of the rest of the world.

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37 DAVENPORT, "America and European Diplomacy to 1648" in Am. Hist. Assoc. *Annual Report* (1915), p. 156; PIGEONNEAU, *Histoire du Commerce de la France*, II, 435 note.

MISCELLANY

Although the number of Catholic publications on history is on the increase—and the foundation of the American Catholic Historical Association warrants the assumption that the increase will become more rapid—the Catholic specialist in history can hardly devote himself even to elementary work, without having recourse to books written, or edited and annotated by non-Catholics. Others too, who are interested in history, though not making it their exclusive study, will often find non-Catholic books the only ones from which they can draw information in special fields of historical knowledge. The Church has not left us without guidance in this matter. The rules which she has laid down for us concerning the general use of books (I mean the laws of the "Index of Forbidden Books"), should constantly be kept in mind.

There are books forbidden by general and by special Decrees. Publications, the whole purpose of which is to impugn the Church, her priesthood, her authorities, the Religious Orders, etc., are prohibited by the general Decrees of the Index, though they are not mentioned expressly. This may be even the case with books which pretend to give merely historical facts concerning ecclesiastical events—because the interpretation put upon the real facts may be wholly biased, or statements may be made which are not proved by genuine sources. As long, however, as it remains doubtful whether the nature of the entire book or of considerable parts of it is of this character, the prohibition too, remains doubtful and therefore not binding, in that particular case.

On many historical books, however, the Church has passed judgment by forbidding them expressly. This is, for instance, the case with Ranke's *History of the Popes in the XVI and XVIIth Centuries*, and with several works of Gregorovius on the history of popes and ecclesiastical institutions. After Rome has spoken, the matter is in no way left to our own estimation and choice, and such books may not be read by anyone, whatever be the position he holds. Permission will however, be readily granted to those who have a good reason to ask for it. Their need to seek such poisoned wells is indeed not a blessing, but a calamity.

Those among us who merely wish to devote their leisure hours to the reading of historical works (a wish for which they deserve unqualified encouragement), find on the whole, books enough which represent things in a way not adverse to the Catholic viewpoint. We may boldly say that we now have Catholic books which give information on practically all the subjects usually misrepresented by non-Catholics. Although we possess by no means all we ought to have, and although on a number of topics our books are perhaps not detailed enough, nevertheless—the wealth of historical knowledge contained in our Catholic publications is so great, as to make appear futile the pretext given by some that—they cannot find any but non-Catholic books worth their while. I do not of course, allude to

subjects in the treatment of which the Catholic standpoint does not come into play—as the Peloponnesian War, or the development of military art.

By patronizing our own books, we give encouragement to Catholic writers, and make possible the appearance of a larger number of correct historical works. This at the same time, is a great service to genuine history at large, because many non-Catholic writers commit their mistakes unwittingly, and are willing to be set right by the results of the researches of Catholic historians.

Yet in spite of the preference we should always give to Catholic historical publications, even those who modestly call themselves "lovers," not "students" of history, cannot be blamed for consulting here and there books by non-Catholics—which though not exactly forbidden, contain nevertheless, un-Catholic statements and comments. Though the writers of many such books mean to tell the truth, being however, children of their surroundings (socially and intellectually), they are liable to reflect the views, and repeat the assertions of their teachers—and of the books they have been reading from their childhood. It will therefore, be useful to keep in mind some points, chiefly doctrinal, which can assist us in being on guard while perusing such books.

1. When the last Apostle died, the *Dogmatic Teachings of the Church* were complete and could neither be added to nor diminished. The authorities of the Church were commissioned and endowed with power from on high, to preserve this legacy of truth intact, for all times. Individual doctrines might indeed be investigated more thoroughly, and in consequence understood more fully and expressed in a clearer terminology; or at certain periods, the Church may have laid more stress on some of those truths which touch the practical life of the faithful—as the reception of communion; but never was there any change in the doctrine itself. What the official Church has ever taught, and ever will teach, does not differ in the least from what the Apostles taught in the beginning of Christian times. The activity of the great Councils of the Church did not consist, as we see it represented occasionally, in selecting at random a certain number of doctrines, just as it happened to please the assembled Fathers; or as some powerful party saw fit to demand, and was able to obtain by violence or wire-pulling. The purpose for which every legitimate Council met and acted, was to determine and to proclaim publicly and solemnly, what the Apostles had taught concerning the matter in dispute. We often come across passages in which the contrary is either openly stated, or tacitly implied. We are told, for instance—that on such an occasion the Church added a new tenet to her store of doctrines, or that she "reverted" to the doctrine of the Apostles. The fact is, that the official Church had never lost sight of those doctrines.

II. As the doctrine, so also *The Essential Features of the Government of the Church* originate from Christ Himself. Christ's Kingdom on earth was to be governed by the Apostles and their successors—but in union with, and in submission to St. Peter and those who were to succeed St. Peter in the See of Rome. The pope's power extends not only indirectly (that is

through the bishops), but also directly to every individual Christian. He is the Sovereign Head of the Church—because there is no other authority of any kind that can rightfully interfere with him in the government of the Church. The bishops too, are sovereign in their spheres, save only their duty of subjection to the Pope. These two grades in the government of the Church cannot be changed, although for practical purposes, some of the bishops may be raised to the position of archbishops, primates, patriarchs or cardinals.

When therefore, we read of the "rise" and "decline" of the papal power, we must remember that the papal power itself, can neither rise nor decline, because it must ever have been the same since its beginning in the person of St. Peter. The papal power itself could have been increased or diminished only by a direct divine interference. But, at certain times this power, while remaining unchanged in itself—might be more fully recognized, both in theory and practice; and might find more opportunities to exert its wholesome influence. It may even be thought possible, that by common consent of the Christian nations, rights might be attributed to the successor of Peter, which though most appropriately connected with his sacred office, were no part of his original authority. How far this has actually been the case is very difficult to determine. But the Sovereign Pontiff's God-given power as head of the Church, could neither increase nor decrease in consequence of any human action. Hence also, every kind of interference with the pope's rights, any meddling with the government of the Church, whether proceeding from king, emperor or republican faction, is and always was, usurpation, pure and simple. The same is true of hindrances thrown into the way of diocesan government. The bishops are responsible to God for the spiritual welfare of their flocks, and must be left unmolested in the exercise of their office.

It is true, however, that the Church, though never sanctioning illegal proceedings on the part of the civil authority, has at times put up with them, because opposition under the circumstances, would only have made things worse; or because peculiar conditions prevented the evil effects, which otherwise might have resulted. But in themselves, all such actions of the secular power, were based on arrogation and were only another kind of persecution. Non-Catholic historians do not always treat them as such, and when speaking of them use expressions which seem to indicate that the rulers had acquired genuine rights over the Church.

III. Since the days of Judas Iscariot, there have always been members and ministers of the Church, *who did not live up to their teachings.* But at no time could the whole Church be so corrupt as to lose its character as the true Kingdom of Christ on earth. In fact there has never been, and can never be any corruption of the Church, but only in the Church. The wheatfield of God can never consist of cockle alone, though at times the cockle may have been very much in evidence.

If therefore, we find descriptions portraying vice and immorality among the faithful and even among the clergy and bishops, however shocking they may sound, we must not from the start consider them as untrue. De-

plorable conditions have indeed existed, but we have the right to examine into the sources of such reports, and to see how the author proves his charges. After the countless false accusations and exaggerated condemnations of persons and things connected with the history of the Church, nobody indeed can blame us if we are distrustful in this matter. On the other hand we must be on our guard when we notice that an author exhibits only the dark side of the picture, without setting forth the good which perhaps existed at the same time, and in the same classes of society. Nor is it enough that the redeeming features are just hinted at with a word or two, to be overwhelmed with an abundance of material from which the reader can gain only the opposite impression. If, finally we encounter the charge that the Church by her doctrines and laws at any time was *the cause* of a decadence of morals, we know that we have before us an unproven and unprovable assertion.

IV. Sometimes non-Catholic authors set to work explaining to their readers the doctrine of the Church on disputed matters. They do not realize that their endeavors may make Catholic readers smile. If they give a quotation, sufficiently long, from some authoritative ecclesiastical document, the proceeding may be somewhat satisfactory. But even so, though the document may have been clear enough for the time for which it was issued, it is possibly open to serious misunderstanding in the twentieth century. However, when non-Catholic writers speak in their own words, pretending to give us the result of their researches concerning the position taken by the Church in some doctrinal dispute, they are more liable to say things which are either utterly wrong, or at least by no means so accurate the writers themselves would wish them to be. The simplest way to find out what the Catholic Church teaches or has taught on any point is the *recourse to the Catechism.* What we learn in our catechisms was taught and learned in all centuries, though not in the same words nor according to the same method. In fact, the catechism or better, some more extensive handbook of religion, should be in the working library of everyone, who is obliged to study or read about those periods in which the character and influence of our Church comes into play. Outsiders cannot reasonably take it amiss if we decline to learn the true tenets of our religion from any but books approved by our own Church, which we know to be the guardian of Christian Truth.

V. In many of the books of non-Catholics, there is lurking another danger, more subtle but none the less disastrous, if we do not arm ourselves against it. I mean the un-Catholic and un-Christian atmosphere. Present day historians may write in terms of high praise of the merits of the papacy, of the civilizing influence of the Church, of the achievements of the Religious Orders—and yet, Church and papacy and religious orders are for them, only so many purely historical and purely natural facts, on exactly the same level and of exactly the same nature as Buddhism and Fetichism. For them Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, is a great man—perhaps one of the greatest, but after all only a man (at least as far as they are concerned). For them the Blessed Virgin Mary is a most lovely

fiction of the Christian mind, a fiction which has exercised a deep influence upon the people of the past; but no more a reality than the goddesses Minerva and Venus. Though rarely expressing this in so many words, such writers are nevertheless under the sway of these ideas while composing their books, and are guided by them in the choice of words and terms and expressions. "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." They may even be dominated by the absurd idea that a thing may be true religiously but false historically. And consciously or unconsciously they write their pernicious tenets between the lines of their elucubrations. While reading such books we are exposed to the contagion of this spirit of earthliness, the spirit of the denial of the supernatural; and unless we resist it and strengthen ourselves against it, we run the risk of becoming more or less infected.

These five points mark some of the dangers against which we should be on our guard when constrained to peruse non-Catholic historical works. We are all liable to pitfalls, the unlearned and the learned, and all of us are obliged to apply preventives in order to keep strong and unstained our Faith in the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church; and in all the dogmas and details of dogmas which she, as God's representative, proclaims.

F. S. Betten, S.J.

CHRONICLE

CORNER-STONE LAYING OF THE JOHN K. MULLEN OF DENVER MEMORIAL LIBRARY, AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 22, 1925, BY HIS EMINENCE, PATRICK CARDINAL HAYES.

The corner-stone of the JOHN K. MULLEN OF DENVER MEMORIAL LIBRARY was laid by His Eminence Patrick Cardinal Hayes on Wednesday, April 22, at 3.30 P. M., in presence of the professors and students of the University and a large audience of invited guests. Prominent among them were Admiral Benson, General Tasker N. Bliss, of the National Soldiers' Home and Commissioner Rudolph. Archbishop Glennon of Saint Louis, Archbishop Hanna of San Francisco, Archbishop Curley of Baltimore, Archbishop Dowling of Saint Paul, Bishop Muldoon of Rockford, Ill., and Bishop Shahan of the Catholic University of America were present on the occasion. The weather was admirable, a perfect spring afternoon and the white granite walls of the fourteen foot basement, 150 feet in length made a splendid impression. The University Choir sang some appropriate numbers and the Soldiers' Home Band discoursed excellent music. Several hundred priests occupied the spacious platform set aside for them.

Bishop Shahan opened the proceedings by reading the following cablegram from Pope Pius XI:

The Vatican, Rome.
April 21, 1925.

CARDINAL HAYES:
Washington, D. C.

Holy Father grants Special Blessing occasion laying corner-stone New Library University.

Cardinal Gassarri.

When the applause had subsided Bishop Shahan spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF RT. REV. THOMAS J. SHAHAN, D.D., RECTOR OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA.

YOUR EMINENCE, HONORED GUESTS, MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY:

The edifice which we are about to begin is the gift of a generous citizen of Denver, well known throughout the far West as one of the chief business pioneers of the great state of Colorado. Associated with him in this splendid work, until her recent demise, was his beloved wife, for over fifty years the partner of his labors and his joys and his trusted counsellor to the end. Their four daughters have also chosen to co-operate in the establishment of this noble Library. Rightly, therefore, does it help to perpetuate a name that for over fifty years has been synonymous with all the business virtues,

with perfect integrity of life, and an intelligent devotion to the public welfare. His own city of Denver honors Mr. Mullen as a public-spirited citizen, ever foremost in its development, and ever proud of its unique office of custodian of the Rockies, with their untold wealth and their inexhaustible opportunities. His Catholic fellow citizens honor in him the chief benefactor of their beautiful Cathedral and its schools, the liberal patron of the Knights of Columbus, and the founder of the John K. Mullen Home for the Aged, where the Little Sisters of the Poor care for hundreds of men and women who would otherwise be hopeless and abandoned in their declining years.

Henceforth the National Capital will know Mr. Mullen as the donor of the magnificent Library of the Catholic University of America. For thirty-five years we have hoped to see this day, and our gratitude to Mr. Mullen is in proportion to the intensity of our need, and to the opportunities which this edifice will throw open, not only to the professors and students of the Catholic University of America, but also to the citizens of the National Capital. They will find here at all times a cordial welcome and a friendly counsel, not only in matters of purely secular learning, but also in all that pertains to the nature and the history, the teachings and the spirit of the Catholic Church. This great edifice is not unworthy of comparison with the best public buildings of our city.

Its site is the finest on the University grounds, high and free on all sides. For air, light and access, it is quite unsurpassed. It has a capacity of one million volumes, of which 300,000 await impatiently its completion. It is 207 feet in length, and 150 feet in depth. Its reading room is 140 feet long, 40 feet wide, and 30 feet high. Its plans have been drawn after long and thoughtful study of the best library buildings in our country. We are confident that the JOHN K. MULLEN OF DENVER MEMORIAL LIBRARY is perfectly equipped for all the demands that can rightly be made upon it.

In the name of the Trutsees of the Catholic University of America, I accept this noble edifice from Mr. John K. Mullen of Denver, and I assure him that his generous material gifts will at once be turned into intellectual wealth, into all the sciences, theoretical and applied, into all the arts, into letters and history, into philosophy and theology, and into an ever increasing knowledge of the world and man. We hope, also, that our higher life, the supernatural life, will be abundantly fed from the resources of this great edifice, and that in its own way it will contribute richly to a closer harmony of faith and reason, of science and religion. May God continue to bless our generous benefactor and his family, and may this noble edifice in coming years be a reminder to his descendants of the sincere and vigorous Catholic faith, and the high public spirit which dictated its foundation.

ADDRESS OF REV. DR. PETER GUILDAY.

YOUR EMINENCE, HONORED GUESTS, MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY:

Like to the winter that now is changing into our warm Southern spring,

one epoch in the history of the University to-day is closing and a second is about to begin. After years of patient, loving hopes, we are in the presence of a dream that is coming true, of a vision that dwells among us as a growing reality. During a generation and more we watched our ships set sail upon the seas of desire and they have returned at last into port laden with a great treasure.

At this parting of the ways between the past and the future, we are laying in our beloved Sion a chief corner-stone, elect and precious—a corner-stone of an edifice for which every ceremony of to-day's nature back to our academic beginning has been but a milestone along the pathway of the University up to this moment of supreme fulfilment.

Time and oft in the past, as we felt our hearts burning within us in gratitude for substantial gifts that have come to us from generous benefactors, there leaped to our lips the unspoken wish that Almighty God, Who is our Light, would inspire a man of wealth and of vision to raise up for us a temple of beauty worthy of these silent yet eloquent companions of our intellectual progress. Now and then, in academic assemblies and in official reports from the administrators of the University, this wish would find utterance, because the urgent need of a building capable of housing our ever-increasing treasures was too visible not to be publicly recognized.

Gifts have crowded our hands all along the eight and thirty years of our existence, and in our hearts abounds a host of memories of benefactors whose devotion to faith and to knowledge gave life to countless sacrifices in order that our University might prosper. Out of the very heart of our history rises a voice that bids us hearken to the potent fact that having once accepted the duty and the pleasure of creating and developing here in Washington an educational work of a magnitude finding its counterpart only in the ages of faith, Catholic America has never faltered in its vow of constancy to the ideals that gave us birth.

All about us here, as far as the eyes may reach, in an ever-widening circle, houses of sanctity and of learning have been established by the bounty of a generous Church, until to-day this centre of the higher life throbs with manifold activities displaying the strength and the beauty of the Spouse of Christ. Several generous gifts have been our sacred portion from this and the last generation, and in return the leaders of our faith have builded here in the capital of the nation a Catholic Athens, where Christ rules as Supreme Teacher. Into the tapestry of the nation's life we have woven the story of our transcendant loyalty to God and country. Every pledge made for us by the founders has been fulfilled. Our influence for scholarship has increased in dignity and power with each passing year. From all sides, support and encouragement have sustained us. The generosity of our Catholic people by gifts, scholarships and endowments has watered this garden of intellectual delights, until like Catholic Oxford of old, we have, in spite of our youth, grown into the stability and the sturdiness of a veritable City of God.

If we were created in a tranquil period in the nation's history, the truth is that we came into being at a time when the educational spirit and temper

of the country were at the portals of a serious change in their attitude towards the things of God. The day was then at hand when a famine was beginning in the land—not a famine of bread, nor a thirst of water, but a famine of hearing the Word of the Lord. Catholic instinct knew that belief in God was in peril, and the Catholic University of America came spontaneously from the bosom of our people, in order to represent in lofty stature before the nation "the faith, hope and charity that animate our Catholic outlook, and lift it high above the level of imperfect natural order—faith in the glorious educational mission of Catholicism in the United States; hope in its future achievements in every domain of national life; and love for the unborn generations that they may run where we have walked, and on this foundation raise in their days new and imperishable works of incalculable service to religion and to country."

Benefactions for these allied purposes were bound to find their way to the University, since its needs were made known by many shepherds of the flock of Christ. Catholic American generosity has been constantly solicited, and not in vain. In the remotest parishes an appeal for the support of Catholic scholarship was heard and answered. Many members of the laity and clergy have helped bravely in making our road toward the conquest of learning both broad and easy.

We are the glorious living proof of the sanctity of Catholic generosity, and at this distance of two score years, we can look back upon our short past and recognize in the chain of our Dedication Days the links that bind us forever to the sacrifices of the Church in the name of doctrine and of science.

Ours is a long scroll filled with the memories of great princes and prelates of the Church who have directed and sustained us, of sainted laymen and laywomen, whose generosity has been our constant support, and of great Catholic organizations that have founded here in perpetuity rich sources of intellectual zeal and devotion. To our side have rallied in quick succession chosen groups of scholars from the religious orders and congregations. At great expense and with no little cost in men and in effort, their Houses of Study around us are outward signs of an inward faith in this unique Catholic academic enterprise with which the Church in the United States inaugurated the second century of its established life.

Through the members of these religious communities, through the graduates of our affiliated colleges, through the young clerics and laymen of our schools, the fame of the University has been spread throughout the land. Millions who have never visited our halls were thus brought to realize that the Church of America had not abandoned the glorious University traditions of the Middle Ages, and that Paris and Bologna, Oxford and Salerno, Rome and Louvain were come together in Washington in order to hand on the torch of learning to the initiative and faith of American Catholic citizenship.

What wonder, then, as the educational duty of wealth became better known and appreciated among our people, that name should be added to name on the tablets of the University's benefactors. What wonder that the family of the University includes to-day so many devoted children, living and dead, who have inscribed their names upon our halls, our chairs

of learning, and upon many departments of our academic and religious training.

With all this as our background, none shall cavil if to-day we place in honored primacy among our benefactors the name of the donor of the University Library—John K. Mullen, of Denver, Colorado. His noble foundation comes to us in the Alleluiatide of the year, when the dawn of joy and of hope is purpling the sky and the air resounds with hymns of praise—

Aurora coelum purpurat,
Aether resultat laudibus,
Mundus triumphans jubilat.

With this inauguration ceremony the causes of our discontent fade from our minds, and our "complaint of books"—to use Richard of Bury's quaint phrase—is at last made up to us; for ours has not been a "complaint"—as Aungerville so charmingly traces it in the *Philobiblion*—against the "clergy," or the "possessioners," or the "mendicants" or "against wars"—ours has been a "complaint" which the good bishop has called *a mourning for a home*. Anxious eyes and grateful hearts have been watching the multiple operations that were begun on this site in November last, and we ask our friends not to undervalue the impatience with which we await the day when this beautiful edifice shall be completed and all our treasures are brought here as children of one family gathered by the mother around the peace and the light of a spacious hearth.

It is true that we have never been without a library—of some sort; for how could a University exist without a collection of books? And to those who know the physical hardships under which we have labored for well-nigh forty years, the number and the quality of the scholarly writings of our professors and students show how creditably our rich stores of books have been used. After the opening of our first building—Caldwell Hall—in 1889, the roomy basement under Divinity Chapel was set apart as our Library. With a nucleus of a few thousand volumes donated by Archbishop Corrigan, Bishop O'Farrell, and other friends of the founders, a beginning was made. Two Catholic publishing houses added generous collections to the Library, and our earliest professors, in particular Dr. Bouquillon, gave liberally of their volumes for public use. Before a decade had passed, it became evident that a change was imperative, if the books were to be of satisfactory service. In 1908, much against our wish, since every room in the new McMahon Hall was urgently needed for class-room space, the west wing of the first floor was devoted by the Rector to the Library. Stacks were set up, the foundations of the building were reinforced to carry the additional weight of the books, and from that time down almost to the present we felt we had reached a breathing space in the constantly increasing problem of our library facilities. Before a second decade had gone by, there were crowded into these very cramped quarters almost 100,000 volumes. From all parts of the country, collections, great and small, were sent to us, and the Library kept on growing at the rate of 5,000 volumes a year, until to-day there are about 300,000 books in the possession of

the University. Crowded into every available space in McMahon Hall, our treasures have overflowed into the basements of other halls, until scarcely any vacant corner in the University has escaped its duty of bearing a burden that can only be set aside when the JOHN K. MULLEN MEMORIAL LIBRARY is finally opened as the permanent home.

This is but one of the aspects of our present unsatisfactory condition; there are others better known to the members of our Library staff, but they do not need to be given mention on a joyous occasion such as this—

Sat funeri, sat lacrimis,
Sat est datum doloribus.

If scholarship is the heart of the University, the heart of scholarship is its Library. It has been well said by one of our prominent educators that without access to adequate library facilites, no University is a university. "Let no one connected with the promotion of graduate work deceive himself—no single thing is more important in advanced work, that really advances, than the literature of the subject, be it in the sciences or in the humanities."

Fifty years ago, when the Father of American Church history—John Gilmary Shea—discussed the proposed Catholic University of America, he pointed out with rare foresight that nothing could give greater service to the Church and to the nation than a great central Catholic library, situated here in Washington. Doctor Shea desiderated the creation of a college of research-fellows, or writers, attached to the Library, to whom scholars of all creeds might appeal for accurate information and skilled direction in their own studies. One may well surmise that the illustrious historian caught his inspiration for this central Catholic library from the famous Ambrosiana Library, as planned and carried to perfection at the opening of the seventeenth century by Cardinal Frederick Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan. The scholarly cousin and successor to St. Charles Borromeo in the See of St. Ambrose, intended his great gift to learning to be something more than a mere collection of books. The books themselves were to be the nucleus of three institutions—a College of Writers, a Seminary of Savants, and a School for the Fine Arts. The flood-tide of the Protestant Revolt was then sweeping across the face of Europe, and the Ambrosiana at Milan was to become an effective barrier against its descent upon the fair valleys of Italy.

To all parts of Christendom, Cardinal Borromeo sent scholarly agents to secure by purchase manuscripts and books for the use of the Ambrosian doctors. The history of their successes during the past three centuries is too well known to need recapitulation. From the days of its founder down to our own, when only yesterday Monsignor Ratti relinquished his post as its Librarian to become Papal Nuncio at Warsaw and then to ascend the throne of Peter as Pius XI, the Ambrosiana Library has never ceased to produce scholarly works of the highest distinction.

To Frederick Borromeo is due also the honor of being the first to throw his collection of books and manuscripts open to all students, without dis-

tinction. "It was in those days a rare and unheard-of thing that a private individual should collect books almost entirely at his own expense, expose them to the general view, have them brought to the first caller, and cause writing materials to be placed at his disposal. Elsewhere the books were hidden away carefully, and no facilities for reading or note-taking were even thought of. The savants of the day were loud in their praises of this generosity..... The Cardinal's example was soon followed in the Bodleian at Oxford, the Angelica at Rome and later on in the Mazarine and Bibliothéque Royale at Paris."

In his *Creditam nobis* of July 9, 1608, creating the College of Doctors of the Ambrosiana, Paul V. has given us the first modern treatise on library economy. Many interesting passages might be cited from this papal letter, celebrated as it is in the history of libraries for its perfect set of rules regarding the service of books as well as for its drastic laws against those who appropriate, sell or destroy any of the volumes in the Library. Even those who were guilty of touching the volumes with soiled hands and thus defacing them fell under pontifical displeasure. Upon all such who misused the books of the Ambrosiana, Paul V issued the penalty of excommunication reserved to the Holy See, and upon clerics the penalty of suspension *a divinis*.

Beginning with the Ambrosiana Library, thence to the Vatican and all the great libraries of the world, a Committee composed of Monsignor Pace, Rev. Drs. Hyvernat and Butin, Mr. Joseph Schneider, the present librarian, Dr. Peter Guilday, and Mr. Frederick Murphy, the architect of the building, gave serious study during the past two years to the plans for the MULLEN MEMORIAL LIBRARY. Visits were made at intervals to libraries in cities far and near, and no effort was spared to bring to our own problem all the knowledge and experience possible toward the perfection of this superb monument to Mr. Mullen's farsighted generosity. To the members of this Library Committee the University will ever be grateful.

To their names another name should be added at this solemn moment of public acknowledgment—that of our beloved Rector, Bishop Shahan, who has contributed from the storehouse of his universal knowledge many valuable suggestions for the design of the library.

The sun going down to rest in the evening casts across the green swards of our campus a last red ray of splendor that falls athwart two buildings in which the heart of Bishop Shahan may well be said to live. At one end of this golden axis is the National Basilica which is being raised to the glory of the Blessed Mother of God by her loving children of the United States, and at the other, this enduring monument to the creation of which Bishop Shahan has brought his love for all that is noble and beautiful, his wide learning, his comprehensive knowledge, his deep and abiding piety, and his warm sympathy with all that sustains and nourishes the ideal of Catholic higher education. Both these enterprises are being constructed to-day because his faith in the devotion of Catholic America knows no faltering, and because his hopes—*Spes mea Christus*—have ever retained the lovely fragrance of his own dependence in all things upon Christ Jesus the Lord.

It would be impossible to overestimate the meaning of the MULLEN MEMORIAL LIBRARY in our daily University life. No other threshold, except that which we are now building for the Real Presence of our Eucharistic Lord, is so vitally of the very essence of a Catholic University. To the door of this edifice every path will be instinctively directed.

Begun in the greatness of soul—*magnanimity*, as the Angelic Doctor calls it—in that greatness of soul Almighty God has bestowed upon its donor, the University Library will be borne along to completion by those three other gifts which St. Thomas Aquinas names with magnanimity as parts of the virtue of fortitude—patience, perseverance, and magnificence.

When a half-century ago the citizens of Milan erected before the beautiful portals of the Ambrosiana Library as a statue to Cardinal Frederick Borromeo, they could find no inscription more suitable than the words written by Manzoni in *The Betrothed* to describe its founder:

> He was one of those men
> Rare in every age—
> Who employed high intelligence,
> The resources of an opulent condition,
> The advantages of a privileged station and
> An unflinching will in the search and practice of
> Higher and better things.

This tribute we offer to the donor of our Library.

The name of John Kernan Mullen now passes into the cluster of those faithful friends whom the gratitude of our hearts ever shelters in honor and affection.

COMMEMORATION EXERCISES
IN HONOR OF THE
SIXTEENTH CENTENARY OF THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA
[A. D. 325]

PRESIDING

HIS EXCELLENCY, MOST REV. P. FUMASONI-BIONDI

APOSTOLIC DELEGATE TO THE UNITED STATES

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY GYMNASIUM

TUESDAY, MAY 26, 1925

8.15 P. M.

PROGRAM

Veni Creator ..... University Choir
Introductory Remarks ..... Bishop Shahan
Send Out Thy Light (Gounod) ..... Glee Club

Discourse: "Rome and Nicaea" ....His Excellency, The Apostolic Delegate
Credo (Nicene) .....University Choir
Discourse: "The Council of Nicaea".....Very Rev. Dr. Patrick J. Healy
Recitation of the Nicene Creed .....John Augustine King
O, Lord Most Holy (J. L. Frank) .....Glee Club
Discourse: "A Lesson from the Council of Nicaea...Rev. Dr. Edwin Ryan
Laudate Dominum (Gabert) .....University Choir

The Catholic University of America, in response to the desire expressed by Pope Pius XI celebrated on the evening of May 26, the sixteenth centenary of the Council of Nicaea (A. D. 325). His Excellency, the Apostolic Delegate, presided. Beside him on the platform were:

Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, rector of the University; Bishop Basil Takoch, of the Greek Rite; Rt. Rev. George A. Dougherty, S.T.D., vice-rector; the Very Rev. Patrick J. Healy, S.T.D., dean of the School of Theology, and the Rev. Edwin Ryan, S.T.D., of the Graduate School. Filling the seats in the front of the vast hall were heads of the various religious houses in affiliation with the University, members of the faculty, priests taking post-graduate courses and a large number of scholastics. In other seats were hundreds of undergraduates and a great gathering of the general public.

One of the most impressive features of an occasion which was charged throughout with impressiveness was the rising of this great audience to recite in unison the Creed which has remained unchanged for sixteen centuries as the public declaration of faith of Catholics in all parts of the world.

THE NICENE CREED.

I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, born of the Father before all ages. God of God; Light of Light; very God of very God; begotten, not made; being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made. Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, *and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary:* AND WAS MADE MAN. He was crucified also for us, suffered under Pontius Pilate, and was buried. The third day He rose again according to the Scriptures; and ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and He shall come again with glory to judge both the living and the dead: of whose kingdom there shall be no end.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son: who together with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified; who spoke by the Prophets. And one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. I confess one Baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the Resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. *Amen.*

ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY, THE APOSTOLIC DELEGATE.

It is a pleasant privilege to be present at this academic function in honor of the Sixteenth Centenary of the Council of Nicaea. As the representative of Our Holy Father, I have a very special reason for being here. The Bishop of Rome has, since the days of Saint Peter, been the acknowledged guardian of the deposit of the Faith. To him was committed, in the person of Saint Peter, charge over all the churches and to him was made the promise that "the gates of hell shall never prevail against her." Faithful to that trust of the Divine Founder of the Church, the Bishop of Rome has always regarded as his most important office the preservation of the unity of the Faith, which was transmitted to the saints for their safekeeping.

No one can understand adequately the important influence which general assemblies of the Bishops, as the Council of Nicaea, have had on the dogmatic and disciplinary life of the Church who fails to appreciate the important role which the Church of Rome has always taken in convening such councils, presiding over them, and in guiding and approving their deliberations. From the birth of Christianity the Bishop of Rome was looked up to as the fountain-head of Catholic doctrine. Thus, Saint Paul praises the faith of the infant Roman Church when, in his Epistle, he writes, "Your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world." Later, Saint Irenaeus, the first historian of the Church, writing at the end of the second century, calls the Church of Rome "great and ancient amongst all the churches"—maximae et antiquissimae. Then he continues, "in truth such is the superior pre-eminence of this Church, that of necessity every Church—I mean the whole body of the faithful in every country—agrees with her, every Church in which, whatever be the country, has been preserved uninterruptedly the Apostolic traditions."

This early pre-eminence of the Church of Rome continued through the first three centuries of persecution. Everywhere her influence was felt, and in all things—dogma, morals, discipline, liturgy, and in works of charity. Nowhere was a voice raised against these activities of Rome. Universal respect for her position and world-wide obedience to her commands were characteristics of all the Christian communities scattered throughout the world, from Cappadocia to the western limits of the empire. Even the pagan emperors appreciated the fact that in any controversy between Christian bodies, the decision of the Bishop of Rome was final and definitive. Thus, Eusebius, the ecclesiastical historian, narrates that in one controversy the Emperor Aurelius "decided the question in the most sensible way, by ordering them to restore the episcopal house to those who on matters of doctrine received letters from the Bishops of Italy and from the City of Rome." Thus, whether we read Eusebius, or Saint Clement, or Saint Irenaeus, or Tertullian, or Saint Cyprian, the testimony of antiquity is always the same—the Church of Rome is the mother of all the churches of the world. Every church must agree with her in doctrine if it hopes to preserve unchanged the traditions of the Apostles.

The victories of Constantine brought peace both to the world and to the

Church. The peace of the Church, however, was soon disturbed by the heretical teachings of a certain priest of Alexandria, named Arius, who openly denied that Jesus Christ was the Son of God in the sense that He was consubstantial with and coequal with God, the Father. This heresy struck at the very roots of Christian belief. It had to be condemned if true Christianity were to survive. Pope Sylvester, therefore, at the request of the Emperor Constantine, consented to allow the Emperor to call a general meeting of the Bishops (Lib. Pontif. 7, p. 75, ed. by Duchesne). Saint Sylvester, because of his advanced age, sent to represent him two Roman priests Victor and Vincentius, and also Bishop Hosius of Cordova, who, in the name of the Pope, presided over the assembly. Arius, "the percursor of anti-Christ," as Saint Athanasius called him, was publicly condemned, and the legates of the Pope were the first to sign his condemnation. A new creed—the Nicene Creed—was written and promulgated to the world as the true and only expression of Catholic belief.

The General Council of Nicaea was one of the most impotant ever held in the Church. The young and brilliant Saint Athanasius, who attended it as a deacon, wrote that it was "a column upon which was sculptured the condemnation of every heresy." It is so viewed by the Church to-day. The Council of Nicaea was called upon to decide a most momentous question. It decided this question rightly, not merely by argument, nor by speculation, nor by logic, but by an appeal to the traditional faith of the Church. The faith accepted at Nicaea always was the faith of the Catholic Church. Nicaea created no new doctrines; Nicaea simply declared what the deposit of the faith contained. And the Bishop of Rome, in the person of his legates, subscribed to the Nicene Creed, the universal faith of the Universal Church, for the reason that it had always been preserved at Rome in the Apostles' Creed, in language practically identical with that of the Nicene formulation.

Sixteen hundred years separate us from Nicaea. Everything has changed in this world since then except the truth of the Nicene Creed and the pre-eminence of the Church of Rome. Constantinople, the Roman Empire, medieval civilization, kings and princes, philosophies and heresies —all have had their day and disappeared. But the Faith of Christ has not changed. At this hour Arianism is a mere name, for the Church repudiated these errors. The Truth of Christ prevailed then and shall prevail till the consummation of time, because the Bishop of Rome stands guard day and night over the faith of the Church. To him has been committed the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; he is the great Shepherd of the flock; he is the Bishop of Bishops. What a thrill of pride should pass over us when we realize the antiquity of our our faith, when we appreciate the unbroken succession of the successors of Saint Peter!

Tonight we are assembled at this great modern Catholic University, in one of the youngest nations of the earth, to celebrate an event which took place sixteen hundred years ago. Though many centuries separate us from Nicaea, yet we are very close to the events which took place there. We are a part of Nicaea because we are all united with him, Pius XI, who is the

successor of Saint Sylvester, the Pope who convened the Council, and because we subscribe to the self-same creed which Pius XI accepts, as Pope Sylvester before him subscribed to it. We, too, therefore can say in the unity of the faith that we believe in Jesus Christ, the "Deum de Deo, Luem de Lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero, Genitum non factum; consubstantialem Patri."

We believe in this doctrine because we have the proud privilege of being members of that Church which alone is Catholic, "the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church," of which Christ is the Head, and the Bishop of Rome His representative here on earth.

THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA.

BY VERY REV. PATRICK J. HEALY, D.D.

The august assembly of the bishops of the universal Church which gathered at the Bithynian city of Nicaea in the year 325, and known as the Council of Nicaea, is the first of the ecumenical councils of the Church. It was convoked primarily to pronounce judgment on the erroneous doctrines regarding the Divinity of Christ, which from the name of their author, are known as the heresy of Arius. By reason of this heresy a conflict had arisen within the Church which threatened the life of Christianity as directly as that other great conflict with the forces of paganism, from which, twelve years before, the Christian religion had come forth victorious after three centuries of conflict. Both conflicts, that against the armed forces of the Roman Empire, and this new one against the intellectual strength of paganism, had their origin in the same source, the unwillingness of unregenerate humanity to pay divine honors to the Son of God.

During the three centuries after the establishment of the Church, Faith and Philosophy had been at variance on the question of the doctrine of the Person of Christ. Though Philosophy had lost none of its perversity by reason of its contact with Christianity, it had, nevertheless, been cleansed of much of its heathen grossness, and had, by the beginning of the fourth century, acquired a power and insidiousness, which are best illustrated by the attraction it possessed for many minds within the Church. Though this Philosophy was thoroughly rationalistic, and though its teachings were subversive of the very essence of revealed Faith, it brought under its influence even priests and bishops. Doctrines utterly opposed to the fundamental truths of revealed religion were taught in some of the Christian schools, and preached from many Christian pulpits. For a time such utterances escaped official condemnation because those who had made them were careful to express themselves in Scriptural phraseology and in the traditional language of Theology. Though orthodoxy and error had been long at war in many parts of the Church the first violent outbreak took place in the City of Alexandria, and there found a leader and standard-bearer in the person of a priest named Arius.

Arius was a man of ascetical life and puritanical character, one in whom rigoristic morals were joined to a strange liberalism in opinion. He was a fanatic who conceived of Christian life as something purely legalistic and formal, a liberal for whom novelty seems to have been the test of truth. He was proud, avaricious and ambitious, stubborn in maintaining his own views and intolerant of those of others. Arius first came into prominence during a controversy with Alexander, the head of the diocese of Alexadria, in which he attempted to prove that the bishop had fallen into error of Sabellianism in maintaining that Christ was begotten of the Father. This controversy, which commenced in 318, soon spread to the entire Church in Egypt and was the cause of so much dissension that Alexander found it necessary to convoke a council of the bishops of Egypt and Libya to deal with the rebellious priest and his adherents. At this council Arius and his doctrines were condemned and he was excommunicated and driven into exile. In a short time the whole Church in the Christian East was aflame with dissension and bitterness. The opinions of Arius were supported by some bishops especially by Eusebius, the influential head of the diocese of Nicomedia. Mob violence and passion were aroused by the writings and harangues of Arius and his followers, but though the discussion and controversy tended to bring into clearer light the utterly untenable character of the doctrines of the heretics, the sedition increased from day to day.

It seems inconceivable that such a grotesque rationalization of the fundamental beliefs of the Church as that proposed by Arius, could, for so long, have deceived even the poorly instructed members of the Church. What they were asked to believe was Philosophy rather than Theology. Claiming to be solely concerned with preserving orthodoxy in the Church, Arius undertook to defend the doctrine of the Unity of God by trying to prove that those who maintained the distinction of Persons in the Trinity were guilty of polytheism, and that while Christ might be called God, He was neither co-equal nor co-eternal with the Father. The idea of God on which Arius based his theory was not the Christian idea but that of the pagan philosophers, it was the idea of a God in whom there could be no distinction of Persons, a God who dwelt in inaccessible aloofness from the world. In explaining the doctrine of Creation and the Incarnation, Arius fell back again on heathen teachers and introduced into his theory the idea of an intermediate being, something similar to the Demiurge of the Gnostics, and this being he named the Word or Son of God. The Word, he asserted, was not begotten of the Father, was not co-equal or co-eternal with the Father nor of the same substance or essence with Him. He was a creature, brought into being from nothing, and non-existent before his creation. He differed from other creatures only because he was to be the agent in the creation of the rest of the universe. Though he may be called God, it is only in a lower and improper sense, for he is a creature subject to the imperfections of creatures, and saved from sin only by the special intervention of the Father or by his own virtue. Such a being, according to Arius, cannot know God and cannot reveal God to others. In the Incarna-

tion the Word took the place of a human soul was united to a human body and thus became the Christ of the Gospels.

It needs no elaborate discussion to show that every idea and principle in the teaching of Arius can be traced to its source in the heathen thought of his time. His system was in fact an attempt to divorce Theology from tradition, to substitute Philosophy for Revelation, and to offer to mankind as the teaching of the Church a rationalistic counterfeit of the true faith. Never, perhaps, did a more illogical theory come from the brain of man than Arianism. But illogical, and inconsistent, and self-destructive as this theory appears under analysis it was, nevertheless, a grave menace to the faith of Christians and to the peace of the Church. The threat of Arianism lay in the fact that it gave to the pagans without the Church, and to the semi-pagans within, not traditional Christianity and revealed truth, but a spurious Christianity, which was merely a disguise for a Philosophy in which they already believed. It gave them a Christianity robbed of mystery, rationalized and diluted, a Christianity which knew no barrier between the Church and paganism. It was a Christianity in which Faith was subordinated to reason, and which opened up through intellectual channels the way to the conquest of the Church which paganism had failed to accomplish during three hundred years of persecution.

In the face of such a menace the Church was stirred to the very centre of its being. It was not a time for compromise or delay. A call went forth to the bishops of the universal church to assemble in solemn conclave to bear witness to the faith and to cast out from the Church the blasphemers who had denied that its Founder was Divine. Circumstances determined the place at which the council should meet. Two years before it was convoked, Constantine, by his victory over Licinius had become sole master of Rome. With the purpose of restoring unity to the Empire he was planning to transfer the seat of government from the city of Rome to some other place from which the Empire, East and West, might be more effectively controlled, and he had not yet determined to raise Byzantium to the position of the New Rome. In the interval the imperial capital was at Nicomedia, a city situated a short distance East of the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and for the time being Nicomedia was the centre of the Empire, the centre to which all roads lead, and to which all the great imperial posts that travelled these roads converged. These posts the Emperor placed at the disposal of the bishops to convey them to the council. He provided for them residences and meeting places, not in Nicomedia itself, but in another city, less crowded and less subject to court influences, the city of Nicaea, twenty miles south of Nicomedia. Without the good will of the Emperor the bishops of the Church, impoverished as they were by the last and longest of the persecutions, could not have made the journey to Nicaea. Constantine furnished them the means of travel; but the voice which called them there was not that of Caesar but of Peter. The writ of the Emperor did not run beyond the frontiers of Rome, but the voice of Sylvester carried to an Empire wider than that of Rome, the Empire of Christ. From Persia immemorially the hereditary enemy of Rome came the Bishop John,

and from the Teutonic peoples to the north came the venerable bishop, Theophilus the Goth. These and others Constantine could not have summoned, and it is doubtful if he and no other summoned them, whether any of them would have heeded his call.

Men who describe this venerable synod of the Church like to dwell on the roster of bishops who were present, and to draw out the list of places from which they came. Never before had such an assembly taken place. Those who were to sit in the Council were not chosen because of their learning, though among them were men like Eusebius of Caesarea, whose encyclopedic mind embraced all departments of ecclesiastical science; nor because of their sanctity, though many saints were present: nor for high station nor for service to religion, though many of them bore in their mutilated bodies and in their sightless eyes the record of the sufferings they had endured for the name of Christ during the days of persecution. Their title to a place in the Council was not in wisdom or eloquence or birth, but in being successors of the Apostles, witnesses to Tradition and guardians of the Deposit of Faith. They came together that they might, not as individuals, but in their corporate capacity give a definite and decisive answer to that question which Christ asked of His disciples three hundred years before when He said: Whom do you say that I am? and to which Peter gave his memorable reply, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. They were not there to add new beliefs to the creed, not to introduce new dogmas, but to preserve and transmit the faith they had received. They had the duty of expressing the Faith, if necessary in current philosophical terminology, so that current philosophical error might not be permitted to impair the integrity of revealed truth.

From the day the Council met, it is said on May twentieth, until the first solemn session which took place, perhaps, on June fourteenth, the assembled fathers carried on, in groups, discussions of the task that lay before them, and of the best means of discharging the solemn duty that was laid on them. Not unmindful of the favors they had received from Constantine, the bishops at the opening session gave him the seat of honor, and listened, while he, with a feeling of awe not less than theirs, addressed to them a discourse which showed his full grasp of the sacredness of the task to which they had set their hands. To the credit of Constantine be it said that, while he followed with unwearying attention, the deliberations of the Council, he made no effort to control or direct its decisions. Petitions which were sent to him, either by members of the Council or others, he brought unread into the council chamber, and after declaring that he had not read one of them, he ordered them to be committed to the flames. We have no record of the debates which took place after the opening of the Council, but it is clear that Arius was represented by a small, but confident and aggressive group of adherents. In spite of their efforts, and their ill-advised attempt to obtain a favorable decision by presenting to the Council a creed drawn up by Arius himself, the decision of the Council was not long delayed, and Arius and his doctrines were solmenly and formally condemned.

In condemning Arius, however, the Council had only partially fulfilled its task. It was necessary to draw up a creed, so clear and explicit that none might thenceforth have any ground to plead ignorance of what the Church believed on the subject of the Divinity of Christ. Though there were some who seemed dismayed by the stupendousness of such a task, the Council was in no mood to palter with error nor to be swayed by considerations of expediency. Eusebius presented for acceptance the venerable Creed of his own Church of Caesarea, admirable in its simplicity and its clearness, but it was the creed of an earlier time, and so worded as to leave the doctrine of the Incarnation still subject to Arian evasion. The Council could not leave the faithful at the mercy of those who might in the future again attempt to substitute for the Christ of the gospels the Christ of philosophy. The creed of Caesarea was taken as the basis for a new and more comprehensive statement of Faith, its clauses were rearranged, new forms and terms were introduced and the Church affirmed in language that none could doubt its belief that Christ is really and truly God, begotten of the Father, born not made, and consubstantial with the Father. In the Council and afterwards the Arians fought against accepting this creed. They asserted its terms were misleading, that it was at variance with tradition, and that its language was unscriptural; but the Creed contained what the Council desired it to contain, a clear and unmistakable assertion of the traditional faith of the Church, and an equally clear and unmistakable repudiation of Arian error.

When the revision of the Creed was complete, Bishop Hosius of Cordova, the Legate of Pope Sylvester, announced it would be read to the Council by Hermogenes of Caesarea the Secretary. As a document the Creed of Nicaea is concise and clear, a proclamation of the true faith drawn up to meet a critical emergency, a statement that left no loophole for compromise or perversion. It set forth for that time and for all time the doctrine of the Church on the Divinity of the Son of God, and lest there might still be some who would cling to the teachings of the heresiarch, it anathematized in special articles the chief heads of his doctrines. As Peter had made the confession of Faith at Caesarea Philippi three hundred years before, it was eminently fitting that the first names to be signed to this new profession of Faith should be those of Bishop Hosius of Cordova, and the priests Victor and Vincentius the representatives of Sylvester, the successor of Peter.

The other matters to which the Council directed its attention, the Schism of Meletius, and the Easter Question were discussed and decided. Twenty disciplinary Canons were drawn up, and these together with the Creed were written in a book, which all the bishops again signed. Constantine invited all the bishops to a great banquet in honor of the closing of the Council and of the twentieth anniversary of his accession to the throne. He addressed the bishops, thanked them for the sacrifices they had made, felicitated them on the success of their labors, and provided them with the means for their homeward journey. Thus ended the holy

and venerable Synod of Nicaea, the first of the General Councils of the Church.

This Council is not only the most important event in the history of the fourth century, but a landmark in the history of human progress and civilization. It asserted the true doctrine of the Unity of God, it vindicated the Divinity of the Son and it proclaimed its faith in the Holy Ghost: it drove from the citadel of faith the spirit of heathenism, and ended the boldest effort ever made to subordinate Revelation to Philosophy. The Council of Nicaea was a symbol of unity at a time when the Church was still one fold under one shepherd. Its venerable Creed is still recited to-day in all the churches throughout the world that call themselves Christian, and may not we find in the fact that it is so recited a symbol of hope that the Church will again be united into one fold under one shepherd, and that God in His own good time will grant the prayer addressed to Him in the Great Litanies ut omnes errantes ad unitatem Ecclesiae revocare digneris.

LESSONS FROM THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA.

BY REV. EDWIN RYAN, D.D.

Lamentable as are the doctrinal divisions among Christians to-day, one may venture to suggest that they are on final analysis less to be deplored than the attitude, assumed by so many, of utter and complete indifference to Doctrine as such, an attitude expressing itself in a tolerance of all beliefs in the seeming hope that we shall thereby learn to get on pleasantly with one another on a basis of feeling rather than of conviction. Many of our contemporaries whose ancestors persecuted ours are now prone to look on us with kindly eyes on the plea that difference of belief does not really matter since we are all serving God in our several ways. And even when the Church is attacked the underlying motive is by no means infrequently a desire to get rid, not of this or that doctrine, but of *all* doctrine, a desire to undermine the dogmatic principle itself and to reduce Christianity to a vague, colourless, sentimental system that will somehow render life quiet and pleasant by gratifying religious emotion without arousing the intellect or searching the heart.

The situation will be more clearly apprehended if we contrast it with the bitterness and fierceness of theological controversy that rent the world during the earlier era of Protestantism. In those days Doctrine was literally a matter of life and death; political and social arrangements were determined by views on Grace or the Trinity; wars were waged to further the acceptance of a particular mode of understanding Predestination; and men languished in prison and were burned at the stake rather than commit themselves to doctrines that their Reason and Conscience disapproved. In fact, at that time Doctrine was to many a Protestant the whole of Religion, Faith being held all-important and Works of no avail. Now, on the contrary, Protestantism often exhibits itself in a guise vastly different. The wheel is coming full circle, and that very heresy or group of heresies which

in the beginning suffered a man to conduct himself as he pleased provided his belief were correct, now suffers a man to believe as he pleases provided his conduct be correct. From "Faith without Works" Protestantism is fast arriving, if it has not already arrived, at "Works without Faith."

Now allowing that theological controversy is an occupation so unattractive that the lover of Christ will be induced to enter thereupon only by "a stern and painful necessity," and with an entire abhorrence from the sword as an instrument for the propagation of the Gospel, we are nevertheless constrained to admit that even religious wars are less undesirable than that state of apathy in which people do not trouble about doctrines except to deny that they are worth troubling about. And that, as has been observed, is the attitude frequently encountered to-day. Opposition to the dogmatic principle has itself been erected into a principle and "undogmatic religion" (whatever that is) is advocated outside the Church not by laymen only but by clergymen as well. And hence the person who undertakes to defend what he regards as the Truth simply through sheer love of the Truth must be prepared to hear himself called bigoted, narrow-minded, behind the age, and the like. The fallacy will be apparent when we reflect that what we have here is on final analysis a negation of Thought, and any kind of thinking, be it ever so erroneous and so stupid, is preferable to no thinking at all.

Diametrically opposed to this attitude is that of the Church from the beginning. Her Divine Founder claimed to teach the Truth; St. John, the gentlest and most tender of the Apostles, forbade his disciples even to associate with those who taught false doctrine and himself set the example; St. Paul stood ready to anathematize even an angel who might teach contrary to the Gospel; and the patristic era is replete with discussions, controversies, councils, decisions and condemnations having for their sole object the defense of Truth against Error, the preservation of "The Faith once delivered to the Saints." The dogmatic principle, the firm unswerving adherence to Truth as a thing sacred in itself and therefore worth living and dying for, is at the root of the Church's life during the three centuries that elapsed between Pentecost and the first Oecumenical Council and has continued so to be through the vicissitudes of the sixteen centuries that have passed since then. Without grasping this the greater part of the intellectual and disciplinary life of the early Church is simply meaningless. Take from patristic literature those writings that are primarily doctrinal and how much will be left?

Now at no time was this more patent than on the occasion of that great assembly which was convened one thousand six hundred years ago this very month, the first of that long and imposing series of assemblies wherein the entire *Ecclesia Docens* may be beheld performing its apostolic function of witnessing to the Truth. The Council of Nicaea is deserving of especial reverence not only because it was the first General Council, or even because it setttled a doctrine so fundamental that the slightest inaccuracy of terminology, nay, (as the event proved) the interpolation of a single letter, would have wrecked Christianity, but also and perhaps chiefly because

there the Church stood before the world as the champion of the essential sanctity of Truth, of the principle that apart from all so-called "practical" considerations Truth demands our reverence because Truth is God. For this reason it is well that the doctrine there defined is one which may at first sight seem to have little or no direct bearing on conduct. What is that doctrine? The consubstantiality of the Son with the Father. Now this is precisely the kind of doctrine about which the modern loose-thinking sentimentalist would never disturb himself or anyone else. "What can it matter," he would say, "whether the Son is of the same substance as the Father or only of similar substance? Whether He is begotten or made? Whether He is eternal in the same sense as the Father or in a different sense?

It is difficult to realize that one who in other affairs displayed the acumen of an eminent statesman so utterly misread a serious situation, but this is only an added evidence that "the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God." The Church, guided by God's Spirit, was not to be deceived. She saw that the point was vital and was in consequence one that demanded settlement, and that were she to hearken to the shallow advice of the imperial theologian her days were numbered. It was a contest between on the one hand the policy of the worldly Christian who would relegate Doctrine to a negligible role and on the other hand the dogmatic principle which sees in Doctrine the very life-blood of Religion, lacking which the organism may be fair to outward view while within it is the abode of corruption. For Truth is inherently holy; and even supposing that in a particular doctrine of Christianity no practical bearing were discernible, still a denial of that doctrine would be of itself an affront to God. But such a case is impossible. Touch one of the revealed truths of Christianity, even the most subtle and abstract, and it is but an affair of time when the structure of Morals will begin to totter. The evils raging outside the Church to-day, those for instance that are corroding married life, are they not "practical?" And yet we find them rampant among those bodies which owe their very being to the distortion of doctrines every whit as "metaphysical" and "unpractical" as that which Constantine sought to banish to the domain of the merely academic.

This, then, is an outstanding lesson taught by the Council of Nicaea to the world of to-day. And one of the proofs that the Church of our time is organically identical with the Church of the fourth century is the fact that she alone continues constantly and consistently to inculcate the same lesson. She is built on the rock of doctrine and not on the shifting sand of sentiment. Her whole life, moral and liturgical, rests on the basis of Truth. And while she has always manifested a due readiness to make concessions to human frailty in other departments, in matters doctrinal or intimately associated with doctrine she stands unmoved and immovable. For the God who dwells within her is the God of Truth and can be served by those only who love the Truth. Wherefore, prompted by Him, she repeats from age to age the words of the Beloved Disciple: "No greater joy have I than this, to hear that my children walk in the Truth."

The Greek Government is considering a project for the restoration of the Parthenon of Athens. It has already gone so far as to authorize the work of re-erecting the fallen central columns of its lateral colonades. Most of the extensive literature bearing on the Parthenon is concerned only with its character as a pagan temple and a monument of art. Perhaps this is why few, even of those who know something of its story, are aware that after the peace of the Church under Constantine and the edict of Theodosius closing the pagan temples throughout the Empire, the Parthenon was converted into a Catholic Church and dedicated to Our Blessed Lady. There are recorded references to it as "the Great Church of the Mother of God in Athens," "Great Church" being here equivalent to "cathedral." There are on the building itself, near one of its doorways, roughly inscribed records of events belonging to the Christian centuries, in one of which the church is thus described. Amongst the ikons in Eastern churches and monasteries there is a type known as that of the "Panagia Athenæotissa." "Panagia," i. e., "All Holy," is a Greek title of Our Lady, and this ikon is supposed by many to be a copy of the picture of her once venerated in the Parthenon. Its Greek name would be equivalent in western phrase to "Our Lady of Athens." When the Crusaders seized Constantinople in the thirteenth century, one of them, Otho de la Roche, became "Duke of Athens," and installed a Latin Archbishop in the city, who took possession of the Parthenon as his cathedral. For two hundred and fifty years the city was under the rule of French, Catalan and Florentine Dukes. Mass was said in the Parthenon with the Latin rite and a succession of Archbishops in communion with the Holy See used the "great church of the Mother of God" as their cathedral. Then came the Turkish conquest in 1456. For a while the schismatics were allowed to use the church, but they were soon expelled by the conquerors. The Parthenon was thus a Christian Church of Our Blessed Lady for about a thousand years. This is at least a century longer than the period in which it was devoted to its original purpose of a pagan shrine.

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward A. Pace, Vice-Rector of the Catholic University of America, was elected president of the American Council of Education at the final session of its eighth annual meeting recently held in Washington.

Monsignor Pace is nationally known as an educator. He has been Professor of Philosophy at the Catholic University since 1891. His election to the high honour of the presidency of the Council took place during his absence in Rome, where he was on a mission in behalf of his University.

The American Council of Education represents fifteen national educational organizations and 190 universities and colleges. It has offices in London, Paris, Geneva, and Rome, and plans are being laid for offices in other European cities. At the meeting here it approved a budget of $192,000 to carry on its activities for the coming year.

An alumnus of the Catholic University of America, Rev. F. J. Sheen, M.A., D.D., Ph.D., has been appointed to the teaching staff of St. Edward's

College, Ware, the Diocesan Seminary of London. Dr. Sheen is a native of Chicago and was ordained for the diocese of Peoria, Illinois. After a distinguished career at the Catholic University of Washington where he obtained his M.A., he went to Europe four years ago where he has gained the Doctorate of Philosophy and of Divinity at Louvain and Rome respectively. This is, we believe, the first time that an American cleric has been so honored by an English Seminary.

The Historical Outlook, May issue, has as its leading article "History" by Professor Charles H. Haskins. The subject is discussed under three headings: I. "History as a Body of Knowledge"; II. "History as a Method of Inquiry"; III. "History as a Point of View." It is an admirable lecture, one of a series wherein Dean Haskins deals for the benefit of the Freshman Class in Harvard one of the principal subjects of the curriculum. Dr. Haskins says:

> History, then, may be regarded in three different ways, as (1) a body of interesting and significant knowledge, full of vital and vivid pictures and important facts respecting the life and people of the past; (2) as a method of inquiry, which all the humanities and social sciences are obliged to use, sometimes without knowing it; and (3) as a certain point of view in relation to mankind. You might say that its subject-matter is that of the humanities, but that its exacting methods are akin to those of the sciences. It looks in both directions, and has contacts on all sides. Consequently, there is no more central subject in the college curriculum, and it serves to fill out and connect other subjects. It links up art and literature with the peoples that produced them. It traces the application of science and industry to the larger uses of mankind. It binds together the varied forms of human effort. Sooner or later it touches most fields of intellectual inquiry. It would be hard to find a subject of college study which is more comprehensive, more many-sided, and more significant. Few of you will study history all your lives, but all of you can, even without specialization, acquire in college enough of history to give you perhaps a permanent interest and at least a wider outlook upon the past, and thus upon the present of the world in which you are to live.

An atlas prepared in 1500 by Abram Artesio, the famous geographer of Antwerp, has been presented to Pope Pius XI by Father Zamboni, a parish priest of Serate near Bergamo. The book is regarded as a very rare specimen. It was formerly owned by Captain Giuseppe Algiati of Mandello, an officer in the Horse Carbineers under the First Napoleon. Captain Algiati was one of the survivors of the ill-fated retreat from Moscow.

Father Hudson's golden jubilee as editor of the *Ave Maria* was celebrated in April at Notre Dame. George N. Shuster tells us that fifty years ago the *Ave Maria* was started as an experiment with the aid of a money gift from the Empress Eugenie. Where would the readers be found? Whence could the contributions be drawn? These questions were left to

Father Hudson for answer. He had gone to the West from Boston, where as a member of a prominent family he had been intimately acquainted with Longfellow, Ticknor and other distinguished New England Augustans. An eager convert, he had looked forward to his ordination as to the commencement of his labors as an Indian missionary. But the Superior's order confined him to the editorial desk, from which, however, he could look out upon a neighboring Indian village. Often a red-skinned delegation paid him a silent visit and stared reverently at the modest press which dealt so busily with a wisdom barred to them. It was a period of hard, primitive effort when poverty of every kind would have prevented anyone not a hero from carrying on.

The early numbers of the *Ave Maria* are filled with translations from the French on a great variety of pious subjects. But gradually the best in the rising English Catholic literature found its way to Notre Dame. The magazine printed much of the earlier works of Father Tabb, Louise Imogen Guiney, Shane Leslie, Charles Hanson Towne, Thomas Walsh and a great many others. It was the chosen mouthpiece for the fiction of Maurice Francis Egan and the exquisite sketches of Charles Warren Stoddard. English scholarship was welcomed and the most brilliant of the English Benedictines sent papers of lasting importance. And yet the most distinguished feature of the magazine has been the section of comment written, for the greater part, by Father Hudson himself. These spare editorials, so wise, so spiritually effective and yet so bright with a calm humor, make up, perhaps, the best chronicle of matters interesting to Catholics.

No editor ever worked more diligently. About two weeks of vacation is what he allowed himself during a half-century. As a result the Ave Maria has always been notable for its excellent English. Mistakes in grammar might be counted on the fingers of a hand and such details as punctuation have been supervised with a carefulness native only to the New England conscience. Father Hudson would feel, however, that his best work has lain in the direction of the constant charity which the generosity of his readers has permitted him to dispense. Thousands of dollars have gone annually to needy missionaries, to hospitals in distant lands, to good causes and charitable enterprises everywhere. After the war he was able to support during several years an Austrian orphanage, the letters of thanksgiving sent from which have been one of the pleasures of his later life.

This golden jubilee is therefore a fitting time for rejoicing in the success of a great labor carried out by a great man. People everywhere know Father Hudson, but his extreme modesty has prevented him from coming before the public very outspokenly. His personality is that of a cordial and lovable priest to whom belong, almost by right of inheritance, the finest American traits.

For probably the first time in the history of American missionary literature, the name of a Sister of a religious order appears on the title page of a scientific missionary publication with the appearance of the first volumes

of the "Paladin Series" which are being printed by the Catholic Students' Mission Crusade.

The woman missionary scientist is Sister Mary Just, of the Foreign Mission Sisters of St. Dominic, at Maryknoll, N. Y. The works to which her name is affixed as the author are *Korea—1925* and *China—1925*.

These books, together with the others in the "Paladin Series," are studies of current mission problems and present-day conditions in the various mission fields of the Catholic Church at home and abroad. Additions to the "Paladin Series" will be published at intervals by the Crusade as a part of the new educational programme which is being launched by the organization.

Study circles, or "Round Tables," in the Crusade units are being formed for the purpose of investigating particular misson problems, the "Paladin" books serving as the basis of the study courses, which will be conducted along entirely new lines designed to make the work as attractive and interesting as possible.

Other books in the "Paladin Series" which are coming from the press at the present time include the following studies: *Africa—1925*, by the Rev. William G. McMenemy, C.S.Sp.; *India—1925*, by the Rev. Dr. Michael A. Mathis, C.S.C., and *The Philippines—1925*, by the Rev. Bruno Hagspiel, S.V.D.

A survey of the world missions of the Church to-day is contributed by the Rev. Dr. John J. Aufhauser, of the University of Munich, and an outline history of Catholic missions has been prepared by the Rev. Paul A. Gieringer, of Harrisburg, Pa. Translations of works by European mission experts are being made by the Rev. Gregory Feige, of the University of Dayton.

The world of Catholic scholarship has been bereaved of one of its eminent scientists by the passing of Father Aloysius Laurence Cortie, S.J., Director of the Stonyhurst Observatory, whose death occurred on Saturday, May 16. Like Father Perry, whom he succeeded as Director of the Stonyhurst Observatory, Father Cortie had won great honor as an astronomer, and it is said he could append to his name several alphabets of academic degrees. He was prominent in many astronomical enterprises. In 1905 he was sent by the British Government to observe the total eclipse of the sun at Vinaroz, Spain, at which time he had a warship placed at his disposal by the Admirality. Later he headed the British Government expeditions to the Tonga Islands in the Southern Pacific, and to Hernosand, Sweden, in charge of planetary transit observations.

The Catholic Truth and Golden Jubilee Edition of the Catholic Columbian, of Columbus, Ohio, recently issued, marks the completion of the fiftieth year of distinguished service to Catholic truth by that well-known paper. Congratulations to the capable and enterprising Managing Director, Mr. James T. Carroll.

By the death of Rev. Joseph M. Woods, the Society of Jesus in the United States lost one of its best known and most scholarly members. Father Woods was born on November 22, 1859, at Pottsville, Pa., and entered the Society of Jesus August 6, 1895. For more than a quarter of a century he was professor of ecclesiastical history at Woodstock College, Md. In preparation for this work, he had spent several years abroad, at Innsbruck and Louvain in historical research. Father Woods was a frequent contributor to the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW.

The death of Father John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., at Manresa House, Roehampton, London, on June 28, leaves a large void in the English Catholic historico-ecclesiastical circle.

Born in 1858, Fr. Pollen was the oldest son of Mr. J. H. Pollen, M.A., the famous Tractarian convert and friend of Cardinal Newman. Educated at the Oratory School like his brothers, Fr. S. H. Pollen, S.J., Fr. Anthony Pollen of the Oratory, Col. S. H. Pollen, Commander Pollen, and Mr. A. H. Pollen, he joined the Society of Jesus in 1877, taking his degree of B.A., London, three years later.

After the usual course of teaching in the schools of theology at St. Bueno's, he was ordained priest on September 20, 1891. Two years later he entered upon the work to which his life was to be devoted, and joined the staff of Jesuit writers at Farm Street. He devoted himself principally to two subjects, the History of the English Province of the Society, and the lives of the English Martyrs. In both he became a first, perhaps the first, authority, and at the same time did highly appreciated work in general English History, particularly of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

As long ago as 1899 Fr. Pollen became Vice-Postulator for the Cause of the English Martyrs, and its progress owes very much to his twenty-three years of unremitting work in its behalf.

Fr. Pollen's long list of learned publications includes editions of the *Acts of the English Martyrs*, of *Kirk's Lives* and of *Challoner's Missionary Priests;* the *Lives of the Martyrs* together with Canon Burton and Dom Bede Camm; and works on *English Catholics under Elizabeth*, *Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots*, and *Philip Earl of Arundel*, to mention only a few. "Fr. Pollen's death," says the *Universe*, "is an irreparable loss to English Catholic scholarship and English Catholic historical writing."

Princeton University has announced that Professor Charles C. Marden of the Spanish Department recently found in Spain an authentic fourteenth century manuscript of the words of Gonzalo de Berceo, the earliest poet who wrote in Castilian.

The discovery is considered of importance by students of Spanish literature, as previously no manuscript of his works was known to exist, and the oldest printed version dated from the eighteenth century.

The manuscript was found by Professor Marden among a number of old documents in a second-hand book store in Madrid. Dr. Marden recognized it as a transcript of the works of De Berceo, who flourished in the

first half of the twelfth century, and subsequent investigation has placed the manuscript in the fourteenth century. It agrees closely with the eighteenth century texts already known.

Dr. Marden presented the original manuscript to the Spanish Academy, but is bringing photostatic copies to this country for the use of scholars. Dr. Marden is a member of the Spanish Academy and Knight-Commander of the Order of Isabel la Catolica.

Dr. Marden's experience will probably stimulate other American students to devote attention to places in Madrid and Seville that are likely to possess documents of value. Within recent days Dr. Chapman, Dr. Priestley and other investigators associated with Dr. Bolton have gathered invaluable material regarding our early history at formerly unsuspected places in Spain.

Catholic journalism has been honored by the elevation to the Episcopate of Monsignor John F. Noll, who has been appointed to the Diocese of Fort Wayne, succeeding Bishop Alerding, who died recently. Monsignor Noll has had a most distinguished career, and is best known as the founder and editor of *Our Sunday Visitor* which, beginning as a parish monthly, has become the most widely distributed Catholic newspaper in the world. He is the author of numerous publications, including *The Fairest Argument* and a *Vest-pocket Book of Catholic Facts.*

An English exchange announces the recent accidental discovery at the Bristol Consistorial Court of an historic manuscript shedding light on a page from the past. The parchment is a deed of conveyance of land at Almondsbury to the Abbey of St. Augustine, Bristol, by Henry, Duke of Normandy, afterwards Henry II of England, and it is believed to have been executed in 1152—772 years back.

The deed, minus signature, date, and seals, these having disappeared with the ravages of time, is otherwise in a fine state of preservation, and has been treated and examined by London experts.

A translation from the Latin reads as follows:

> A. D. 1150.—Henry, by the Grace of God, Duke of Normandy and Earl of Anjou, to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Consuls, Barons, and all his faithful friends, both French and English, Greeting and Love. I make it known to you, as well those present as those to come, that I have granted, and by my present charter of record have confirmed to the Church of St. Augustine of Bristol of the Canons Regular, which in my early youth I began to help and favour in benefits, and by protection for the sake and love of God, for the soul of my grandfather, Henry the King, and for my own safety—Almondsbury—in perpetual alms, to hold the land with all its liberties and customs, and with all its appurtenances in groves and feedings and marshes and arable lands, free, and quit from all exaction and molestation.

These underwritten being witnesse: William Earl of Glouceste, Reginald Earl of Cornwall, Ralph de Dunstanville, Robert FitzHarding, Henry and Maurice, his sons, Richard de Humey, constable, Manasser Biseth, steward, Warren FitzGerald, chamberlain, Hubert, the steward.

The first Catholic Congress ever held in Egypt was opened at Cairo on Tuesday, May 3. Twelve thousand persons attended seven masses, celebrated simultaneously according to different Oriental rites, and there were 4,000 communicants at the initial ceremony.

The American Institute of Architects recently awarded the gold medal for ecclesiastical architecture to the firm of Maginnis and Walsh of Boston. The award was made during the International Exhibit of Architecture and Allied Arts. At the convention of the Institute held during the exhibition week, Mr. Timothy Walsh was elected a Fellow, an honor which had already been conferred on his associate, Mr. Charles D. Maginnis. Maginnis and Walsh are the architects of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception now being erected on the campus of the Catholic University of America, the chapel at Trinity College, Washington, D. C., the Church of Saint Catherine, Somerville, Massachusetts, the Foreign Missionary Seminary at Maryknoll and numerous other ecclesiastical edifices.

A gold medal for outstanding contributions to scientific knowledge was awarded to the Abbé Henri Breuil, by the National Academy of Sciences, in Washington, in the early days of May. An official of the French embassy received the Daniel Gerard Elliott medal on behalf of Abbé Beruil, the distinguished French archeologist. Abbé Breuil received the award for his recent work—*Les Combarelles des Eyzies*. The book presents the results of explorations and research extending over more than twenty years and is a remarkable achievement in the way of revealing hitherto unknown facts about the Paleolithic engravings of men and animals in the celebrated French caves. Commenting on Abbé Breuil's monograph upon which the award was made, a statement from the Academy of Sciences says—"Through the fortunate combination of an athletic physique with the skill of a trained artist, and the cautious reserve of an experienced archeologist, it was possible for him to produce the remarkable series of drawings and photographs which illustrate this monograph..... The result is that Abbé Breuil—by means of numerous drawings to scale and photographs made under his direct supervision—has made accessible to all those interested in Paleolithic art, the 291 figures or important fragments of figures that have been deciphered at Les Combarelles." Abbé Breuil has received an honorary doctorate from the University of Cambridge, England, because of his scientific achievements.

In the little battlefield shrine town of Gettysburg, visited by thousands of patriotic Americans each year, there was dedicated on Sunday, May 10,

an imposing memorial to the disinterested ministrations of Catholic Sisters to suffering humanity wherever they may find it.

It is in the form of a graceful new front to St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church. Within the walls of this edifice, in 1863, while the greatest battle for the Union was raging, and for weeks afterward, Catholic Sisters of Charity from Emmitsburg, Md., nursed the wounded of North and South alike regardless of faith or national allegiance.

Knights of Columbus of Pennsylvania two years ago recognized the noble sacrifice that was here to be memorialized. It was they who reconstructed the front of the little church at a cost of $50,000.

Bishop McDevitt, of Harrisburg, accepted the gift in the name of his diocese, and thousands of Knights of Columbus and many high civil officials attended the presentation ceremonies.

Governor Albert C. Ritchie, of Maryland, in an address in keeping with the great act of tolerance commemorated, pleaded for "religious and civic liberty in their highest form." He rebuked those who attack Catholic schools, where other self-sacrificing Sisters labor, and declared that "it is the duty of the state to foster sectarian schools and to fight against any group that would stop us from achieving that purpose."

The Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday, of the Catholic University at Washington, made a strong plea for religious tolerance and asked all to "help to keep America Christian." He lauded the Knights of Columbus for their service in war and peace.

"Knights of Columbus, you have extended the hand of fellowship and friendship to the men below the Mason and Dixon Line as well as to the men of the North," the Rev. Mark E. Stock, pastor of the church, told the throng. "This monument is the first Gettysburg memorial to the men of the North and South alike. The Knights of Columbus of this Commonwealth have given evidence of the patriotic spirit which marked its origin by this beautiful tribute to the unselfish and sacrificing Sisters of Charity and the soldiers, Catholic and Protestant alike, who suffered within its historic walls."

Bishop McDevitt opened the day's ceremonies by celebrating High Mass, after the guests, headed by uniformed Knights, had marched in solemn procession to the church. Leo G. Griffith, of Pittsburgh, State Deputy, made the presentation, and Miss Adelle Irvin, of Gettysburg, cut the strings unveiling the bronze tablets.

Two tablets adorn the new church front, where an imposing Grecian portico supported by six Doric columns has replaced the red brick structure. The new construction is of Indiana limestone, and the congregation has encased the whole edifice in the same material.

One of the tablets memorializes Father Corby, whose statue is on the battlefield and who gave Extreme Unction to hundreds who lay dying in the fighting. The other depicts Sisters of Charity ministering to the sick and wounded.

On one tablet is the following legend: "During the battle of Gettysburg this house of God became a hospital for wounded soldiers. Within its hal-

lowed walls brave men of North and South, foes on the field of battle, through weeks of pain were nursed with tender and equal care by the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg." On the other tablet are the words: "Pennsylvania Knights of Columbus, in token of ancestral pride as American Catholic citizens, renovated the facade of this hospital church, 1925."

The entire monument constitutes one of those permanent memorials which, as Bishop McDevitt has said, "will emphasize the part which Catholics, inspired by faith and self-sacrifice, have had in whatever concerns the life of America."

BOOK REVIEWS

Un Jesuite Brahme. Robert de Nobili, S.J. (1577-1656) Missionaire au Maduré, par Pierre Danmen, S.J. *Museum Lessianum, Section Missiologyque.* Paris: Charles Bayaert: and Brussells: A. Giraudon.

The present study from the Mission Seminar of Louvain has a far more timely message for the missions than the story of Father de Nobili, despite the fascination that his career will ever have. De Nobili was in no way a victim of romance, nor was he in any way a sentimentalist: his action in becoming, to all appearances, a Brahmin resulted from the painstaking study of an apostle and a scholar to find a method of winning a people to the faith, a people who hated and derided Christianity.

As the author points out in his preliminary study, the missionaries who followed St. Francis Xavier attempted to make the neophytes Portuguese as well as Christian and thereby created an aversion to Christianity on the part of the natives; then, too, the imprudence of the Portuguese, in allowing themselves to be confused with the Pranguis, raised a barrier against the conversion of the higher castes. Above all the failure of so many of the missioners to learn the language not only proved a handicap to their effective ministry, but induced them to a wrong conception of some of the native customs and made them, perhaps, too severe in the practices they prohibited.

When de Nobili arrived at his mission in 1604 he was confronted by the failures of his predecessors and sought a remedy by going to the opposite extreme: he became a Brahmin, dressing and living as one and receiving initiation into their rites. After acquiring a thorough knowledge of the language and making an exhaustive study of the native customs, he was convinced that many of the customs which his predecessors had declared illicit were nothing more than civil or social functions and so he permitted his converts to use them. He planned to use these customs to span the chasm that had hitherto separated Christianity from Hinduism and instead of attempting to show the natives that they were false in their present belief he made every concession to their prejudices and then showed how inadequate

was the religion which they professed in contrast to Christianity.

He was eminently successful in his method and, although for a period of ten years his work was paralyzed by the struggle over the licitness of his method, the barren mission to which he had come was able to boast of 40,000 Christian souls ten years after his death.

The author's conclusion sounds as a note of warning to present day missioners in India. A problem similar to that which was met by de Nobili must be met today, for although the growing national life of India will tend to a process of levelling and thereby break down the system of caste, yet this very movement is bound to bring in its train an increased aversion for western culture. Very appropriately he quotes the motto that the late Pope gave to missioners in the *Maximum Illud: Obliviscere populum tuum et domun patris tui.*

The missioner to-day will hardly find it advisable to go to the extreme to which the zeal of Father de Nobili extended, yet that great missioner can surely be imitated in one thing at least. His one purpose must be the salvation of souls. Perhaps the civilization which Christianity has given the West will eventually dominate the East, but that is not the concern of the missioner. He must bear in mind that souls can be saved without the hall mark of European or American institutions.

G. C. P.

Western Australia: a History from its Discovery to the Inauguration of the Commonwealth. By J. S. Battye, Litt.D. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1924. Pp. 480.

Although Australia has made a considerable contribution to political and social science, very little is known in this country about the beginnings and the evolution of the states that comprise the federation. Mr. Battye's *History of Western Australia* is, therefore, a welcome addition to our historical literature. The book has the ear-marks of patient and careful preparation.

Mr. Battye seldom discusses colonial expansion in its larger aspects. Confining himself to Western Australian history, he quite exhausts it. He has proved, also, that the middle period

of Australian history, the years following 1850, in which the Western colonies developed, is far from being "comparatively featureless except to the specialist," as Mr. Dunbabin characterized it in his *Making of Australia* (London, 1922). In his dealing with the subject Mr. Battye uses the best evidence and only now and then cites secondary works in support of his statements. So encyclopedic and thorough a work, should, however, have been provided not only with a map of Australia but also with an adequate index. Many items of interest to Americans and to Catholics are buried in the text. French and American whalers inspired the British to establish their claim to the territory by settlement. Notices of Americans engaged in seal and whale fisheries in West Australian waters appear on pages 61, 62, 64, 67, 69, 142, 143, 144, 332. In 1876 an American, Roberts, startled the British by claiming sovereignty for his country over the Lacepede Islands (beyond the three-mile limit), rich in guano deposits. Though the American consul favored Roberts' claim, the Washington government did not support it (pp. 324-325). English experience in America prevented the issue of a proprietary charter, like that of Pennsylvania or Georgia, to the colony: "It was deemed desirable to exercise a more immediate control over the settlement than by such an arrangement it would possess" (p. 70). In 1835 the settlers cried out against taxation, because they had no voice in the selection of the Legislative Council (p. 136). The movement to establish the Catholic Church in Western Australia began in 1842, but it was not until 1848 that a Bishop Brady took possession of his See at Perth (p. 196). The Church seems to have prospered in spite of some internal dissension (pp. 222-224, 242), and from 1871 to 1895 shared in the public appropriations for education. Valuable documentary appendices and a statistical summary of the economic development of the colony are printed at the end of the volume.

The Permanent Court of International Justice and the Question of American Participation with a Collection of Documents. By Manley O. Hudson. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 1925. Pp. x + 389.

We are under obligations to Professor Hudson, of the Harv-

ard University Law School, for making available his papers and addresses that have appeared in several reviews during the last three years. The first five essays are reprinted from the *Harvard Law Review*, and from the *American Journal of International Law*, and constitute Part One, "The Permanent Court of International Justice," of the present volume. The last essay of this group is a valuable discussion of the history of advisory opinions in national and in international courts. The remaining essays, nine in number, are reprinted from nearly as many journals, and constitute Part Two, "The Question of American Participation."

Professor Hudson considers the Court as an institution that is very independent of the league of Nations, more independent even than is our Supreme Court of the executive and legislative divisions of our government. The United States may, and ought to, give its support to the Court of International Justice without adhering to the League of Nations. Professor Hudson takes President Harding to task for departing from his original proposals to the Senate, February 24, 1923, with respect to the manner in which the American government may support the Court in his addresss at St. Louis, June 21, 1923. The impossibility of Senator Borah's position is demonstrated. How Professor Hudson would have the United States be of the Court, yet not of the League of Nations, seems open to no objections.

A number of difficulties occur to one as he proceeds with the reading of the volume. Professor Hudson's disposition of Borchard's objection to the Court on the ground that as the views of the judges become known governments will be reluctant to submit cases to the Court seems weak (page 47, note 6). We wonder, too, whether the conception of an "aggregated empire" is so "wholly obsolete" as Professor Hudson thinks it is (p. 251). This difficulty does not, however, materially affect the question of the advisability of American support of the Court.

Since the essays have been reprinted from the first publishings with only slight revisions,—we do not like too much alteration in the original,—there are numerous repetitions. Some of these repetitions might have been avoided; for example, the matter in note 5 on page 100 occurs in the text on page 92. Valuable documentary material is given in the twelve appendices to the volume.

An Episode in the Struggle for Religious Freedom. The Sectaries of Nuremberg 1524-1528. By Austin Patterson Evans, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University Press. 1925.

The City of Nuremberg was one of the first "Free and Imperial Cities" of Germany which threw overboard the Catholic religion and became officially Lutheran. But the banishment of Catholic Priests and the suppression of the Catholic service did not save the city from the visit and activity of other non-Catholic sectaries, who explained the Bible differently from Martin Luther. The Nuremberg city council proceeded against them with imprisonment and exile. In the author's view these men were champions of "religious liberty." The city council soon had its doubts as to the correctness of its policy, and seriously considered a milder attitude towards the dissenters. The author lays before us the opinions of great men concerning this point.

Luther's opinion naturally had very great weight. In the beginning of his rebellion against the Church he had held that instruction was the only weapon to be employed. But when he saw that an ever increasing crop of the most phantastic doctrines resulted from this policy, he gradually veered around. In their hearts he thought men might believe as they pleased. But the preaching and exercise of any religion not his own was evidently "blasphemy," which could not be tolerated. (Page 198). The offenders must be punished by the secular authority and if necessary even turned oved to "Master Hans" (the executioner). Thus a principle for relentless persecution was established. As far as Luther was concerned the "struggle for religious liberty" was lost. Here and there, however, the voices of minor prophets were heard, which advocated clemency or the infliction of lesser penalties only, and the author lays great stress on these utterances. He sees in them the indications of times which were to dawn centuries later. With this outlook into the far future the book concludes.

We should indeed have liked to know what was the immediate effect of these partly conflicting theories upon the attitude of the city council of Nuremberg, and what shape the "struggle for religious liberty" really took in that city. The author merely states, on the last page of the book, "It is not meant to imply

that persecution ceased about this time. On the contrary it became even more bitter." The present reviewer thinks he should have shown more explicitly in what concrete manner the persecution became more bitter. He should have informed us in a rather detailed way, how the town government proceeded in its task of repressing blasphemy and punishing the blasphemers; how many persons, for instance, were incarcerated or exiled or handed over to "Master Hans." It is well known that the Protestant states had no mind at all to grant religious freedom as the word is understood to-day. It would have been very interesting to learn how one particular German state, the Free and Imperial City of Nuremberg, fought against rebellious freedom, and how much Luther's blood and iron theory had to do with the establishment of the diminutive State Church of that city. The author's mysterious statement that the persecution became even more bitter, and the very last sentence of the text which speaks of "men who braved bitter persecution, accepting death rather than deny their consciences," can only serve to whet our curiosity.

It is somewhat strange, too, that only non-Catholics are made to figure as champions of religious freedom, while in those very same years there was in Nuremberg a community of Poor Clares, who suffered the most outrageous treatment at the hands of the Nuremberg authorities; who braved the most bitter persecution, a persecution worse than death, rather than deny their consciences. (See the *Life of Charitas Pirkheimer*, von Franz Binder). The author faintly alludes to this fact in a footnote. He also gives in his bibliography the chief source of the history of this persecution, the *Denkwürdigkeiten von Charitas Pirkheimer* edited by Höfler. But the heroic nuns with their highly educated and manfully courageous abbess have found no place or mention in the text.

F. S. B.

The Pan-German League, 1890-1914. By Mildred S. Wertheimer, Ph.D. (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law) New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924. Pp. 256.

To all who are interested—as who is not?—in German public

opinion and the influences that affected it prior to the outbreak of the War in 1914 a study of the Pan-German League and its activities in the quarter-century immediately before Armageddon holds out no little promise. The topic was one that Miss Wertheimer was well advised in investigating, and on the whole her treatment is satisfactory, albeit the conclusions she has reached will not be relished by members of the Yellow Journal school of historical criticism.

The League was founded in 1890 in protest against the Anglo-German agreement of that year, by the terms of which Great Britain ceded Heligoland to Germany in return for the recognition of a British protectorate over Zanzibar, Pemba, and the sultanate of Witu. Anglophobia was, perhaps its main characteristic, but anti-Semiticism, political obscurantism, and a vigorous belief in overseas expansion likewise actuated its members, all of whom were seemingly enthralled by a vision of Manifest Destiny made in Germany. Numerous meetings were held with addresses on topics either of immediate political interest or related in general to the cause that the members of the League had most at heart—the support of *das Deutschtum* in Europe and oversea; a weekly paper, the *Alldeutsche Blätter* was published and distributed gratis to educational institutions within and without the German Empire; and many thousands of dollars were spent in broadcasting chauvinistic literature.

Confronted with these facts one is tempted to find in the League an instrument responsible, at least in part, for those conditions among German-speaking people that helped usher in the catastrophe of 1914-1918; to see here the fount and origin of the Pan-Germanism of which we once read so much. But two questions arise: Were the members of the League in any true sense representative of the German people? Did the League exercise any great influence on German public opinion? To each of these questions Miss Wertheimer, basing her conclusions principally on the publications of the League itself, returns an answer in the negative. The membership of the League never rose above 21,924, excluding "corporate members" who added little to its importance, and after 1905 the membership was some thousands less; the largest number of subscribers to the *Alldeutsche Blätter* was little over 8000; there was a good deal of trouble in col-

lecting dues, as was shown in published tables of arrears. Clearly the League did not receive the support of any large number of Germans. As regards the influence it may have exerted, its activities received very scanty notice in the press and the literature that it distributed at great cost can to-day hardly be found even in German libraries. In brief, the evidence does not support the view that the Pan-German League was a factor of any particular moment in the period covered by Miss Wertheimer's study.

The information given might, without loss, be conveyed in far fewer words and without such a plethora of footnotes; and the phraseology employed leaves something to be desired. Yet the work is a useful one, and it is to be hoped that similar investigations may be made into kindred organizations whose agitation has been covered, in this country, by the catch-phrase "Pan-German."

ALFRED H. SWEET.

St. Lawrence University.

The Humane Movement in the United States 1910-1922. By William J. Schultz, Ph.D. (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law). New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924. Pp. 319.

After an introductory chapter that gives us a survey of the history of the humane movement in the United States, Dr. Schultz devotes 138 pages to an account of the work done to promote the welfare of animals and 70 pages to a consideration of work in the interest of child welfare during the dozen years covered by his investigation. The proportion or disproportion in allotting twice the space to animals that is given to children arises from the fact that the author takes for his subject the entire field of animal welfare and but a limited group of activities for child welfare.

The result is by no means without interest, partly because the subject possesses in itself a wide appeal and partly, (in the view of the present writer, at any rate), for the sidelights that are thrown on the ways of some professional reformers. The chapter on *Anti-Vivisection*, for instance, leaves in the reader's

mind the impression that honesty is not the chief virtue of anti-vivisectionists.

The compilation of facts, the collection of information on all manner of social activities, is a task performed by indefatigable students for which the future historian of present-day civilization may be properly grateful. Such a book as this is an example of the unnecessarily long dissertation, heavily overloaded with appendices, that all too frequently emanates from our graduate schools. Its writer's industry is self-evident; his ability to interpret the material he has laboriously collected is not shown. One may frankly admit the utility of such an investigation as this of Dr. Schultz, and yet question the value of printing it at such length.

A. H. S.

Saint Basile, Eveque de Césarée. By L'Abbé Jean Riviére of the University of Strasbourg; Les Moralistes Chrétiens. Paris: Gabalda, 1925. Pp. 320.

The primary purpose of the series "Les Moralistes Chrétiens" is to bring before the public the principles of Christian ethics as they are reflected in the actual sources of our moral teaching. Opponents of our attitude on moral questions only too often inveigh against views attributed to us which are in no sense of the word the opinion of Christian writers. Modern philosophers, especially of the evolutionary Hedonist School, have been the worst offenders in this, giving currency to second and third hand interpretations as expressions of the genuine Christian attitude. They have been especially assiduous in spreading abroad the idea that Christian ethics is only a more or less attenuated system of moral theology. That our authoritative ethical thinkers, on the contrary, base their views upon a philosophical attitude towards human conduct and find in philosophy the highest justification for the Christian scheme, has escaped these enemies of Christian thought. An appeal to the actual texts by our most famous writers proves beyond cavil that they were moralists in the scientific meaning of the term, and that their critics have deceived many by mere caricatures of what our real ethical thought is. Moreover, there can be no doubt that this series of texts will be re-

ceived with favor by defenders of Christian morality, who shall see therein, mirrored in its purity and pristine vigor, the true teachings of the Church on the most important problems of human conduct.

Saint Basile, Evêque, de Cèsarèe, the first of this admirable series, is by L'Abbé Jean Riviére, Professor at the University of Strasbourg. It is a more than worthwhile study, done with all the accuracy which we have come to associate with modern historical criticism, yet filled with the deep feeling which only a trained moralist possesses for the sublimity of Christian ethics.

Saint Basil was the most prominent representative in the Oriental Church of Fourth Century Christian Thought. Trained in literature, and the Sacred Scriptures, he brought to the study of Christian dogma and morality an acute intellect and a profound spirit. His writings, especially his sermons and moral treatises, reflect in the highest degree the union of Greek thought and Orthodox morality in a synthesis which for accuracy, brilliancy, and the power of conviction was only approached by the moral teachings of Saint John Chrysostom. The selection of Saint Basil, therefore, as representative of Christian morality of that period was a most happy one.

The text is preceded by a short life and evaluation of the literary labors of Saint Basil, written by Professor Riviére, together with an excellent bibliography of general works treating of the Saint and special works dealing with his ethical teachings. The different texts with appropriate comments are given under the following headings: General Principles of Christian Ethics; Individual Morality; Social Morality; and the Christian Ideal of Perfection. The modern student of ethics will probably turn first to the section dealing with social morality. There he shall obtain an accurate picture of Christian thought in the fourth century on such questions as asceticism, marriage, family obligations, the obligations of the clergy, the responsibilities of the rich and the abuses of wealth, and the evils attendant on usury,universally recognized as one of the major social evils of antiquity.

L'Abbè Riviére has selected with admirable skill the precise texts which bring out clearly and forcibly the viewpoints of Saint

Basil. His brief introductions are welcome guide-posts to a correct understanding of the texts cited.

Perhaps it would be asking too much of our own moralists to produce a similar series of texts for the English speaking world. Let us hope, however, that they will give us soon at least a scientific Source Book of the best thought on Catholic ethics through the centuries to the present day.

JAMES H. RYAN.

The Plays of Roswitha. Christopher St. John, with an introduction by Cardinal Gasquet and a critical preface by the translator. London: Chatto & Windus, 1923. The Medieval Library, under the general editorship of Sir Israel Gollancz, Litt.D., F.B.A.

This little volume of plays, the text of which was first printed in 1501 and later in Migne's *Latin Patrology*, and which is interesting chiefly to students of the drama, brings before the modern historical student a medieval accomplishment all too soon forgotten. Cardinal Gasquet's introduction, together with the critical notes of the translator, give the salient facts, which are these:

Roswitha was a Benedictine nun of Gardersheim, Saxony, of the 10th century, having been born between the years 912 and 940, A. D. She must have belonged to an honorable family, since the particular abbey to which she was attached, was somewhat restricted in its membership. The Abbess was of royal blood and had rights of overlordship for many miles, as did any of the feudal barons. But in spite of the important position the Abbey held in a feudal kingdom, it was singularly free from luxury and inculcated growth in spiritual perfection.

That the nuns were cultivated in literature and the best education that day afforded, is proven by these plays alone. Roswitha claims Terence, with whom she was very familiar, as her model. She was likewise acquainted with many of the traditional plots and stories that we know to have existed in classic times. She did not, however, merely copy, but originated and adapted to her own interpretation the characters and plots which she used, showing thereby much ingenuity.

To us of the modern world, so used to references to the "dark ages" and the "Germanic barbarians," this little book brings forcibly before us that ignorance is only a relative term, which cannot be applied absolutely to any age. That a woman of the 10th century, particularly a nun, could produce such a piece of writing as this is remarkable and it speaks volumes for the breadth and culture of the Church.

M. T. MURPHY.

Papers Relating to the Ships and Voyages of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, 1696-1707. Edited by George Pratt Insh, M.A., D.Litt. (Glasgow). Research Fellow, Glasgow University, Principal Lecturer in history, Glasgow training centre. Edinburgh: University Press, for the Scottish Historical Society, 1924. Pp. 280.

Darien, to use the uncommon name for Panama, is immensely important in the history of America. Here the first colony on the mainland was established, from which spread practically all of the European culture developed from Spanish origins in North and South America. Here Balboa, having crossed the mountain passes, first obtained sight of the Pacific, and first realized that Darien was an isthmus. Here Columbus visited on one of his later voyages. Spain's proprietorship was well established in all that country.

More or less unwittingly, certainly without malice, their claim was challenged by the Scottish Darien Project, almost two hundred years later, with very disastrous results to the Scotch. Indeed, the Darien project, inspired more or less by Englishmen, jealous of the East India Company and similar trading organizations, and commanding Scottish loyalty because of the rigors of the British Navigation Act, then in force, proved to be one of the most disastrous ventures in all history. Whether William Paterson, founder of the Bank of England, was the principal sponsor, as the earlier writers claim, or whether he was not, as this volume maintains, it is most interesting to us to realize that he or some other director, conceived at that time, about A. D., 1700, the idea of the Panama Canal, which was not to fructify for some two hundred years later.

A small literature is slowly developing on the Darien project, which includes H. H. Bancroft's reference in his *History of Central America*, II, 1883; Sir John Dalrymple's notice in *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland;* the writings of John Hill Burton, *History of Scotland* and *Darien Papers*, 1849; Sir Walter Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather;* and this late volume.

The Scottish Historical Society, in adding the present publication to its series of studies of the Scotch place in the development of the world, has given a volume of almost entirely new material from the original records of the Company of Scotland, which extends the breadth of the Darien Project from a mere Scotch failure to a world trading enterprise.

M. T. MURPHY.

Sloinnte Gaedeal is Gall. Irish names and surnames. Collected and edited with explanatory and historical notes by Rev. Patrick Woulfe, Priest of the Diocese of Limerick. Member of the Council, National Academy of Ireland. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, Ltd., 1925. Pp. 696.

According to the author's plan, there are two parts to this book, but there are really many more, for he has crammed the book full of encyclopedic information. In part I he gives a list of Christian names of men with their equivalents in Irish; of the Christian names of women with their Irish equivalents; then a list of names, male and female, in Irish, with their derivations, their variations in English, their history, their locality, their forms in Latin, and short sketches of the more important people who have borne the name.

In part II he lists the surnames in English, giving every variation of spelling in alphabetical order, with its Irish equivalent. Following this, is a list of surnames in Irish, with the various English forms, the derivation and meaning of the name, the clan or sept to which it belongs, a short sketch of the history of the family or the names of its leading members, its locality in Ireland, and any other information about it that can be given briefly. As an appendix, a list of the clan names with explanatory notes is given. These lists as given are exhaustive. They not only contain anglicized spellings not hitherto to be found or explained

without great labor, but they point the way to further information which will give a clear and rational history of any family mentioned in the sources. Indeed a logical outline of Irish history and the influence of the Normans and the English upon it can be obtained from cross-references. A well-balanced bibliography is given. Also included is an explanation of the Irish alphabet which makes the work perfectly clear to anyone who has no Gaelic.

Tucked away in explanatory paragraphs on the Irish name system and in the introduction, is enough material for several papers of the highest rank, suitable for presentation before learned societies. For example, he gives a résumé of the use of surnames in Europe following the elaborate nomenclature of the Romans, and he finds that surnames were not used on the Continent to any greater extent than they were in Ireland. A man was known simply by his Christian name and names were mostly individual, seldom belonging to more than one person in a given place. It was not until the population grew so that a variety of names sufficient to go around failed, that a second person of the same name, was distinguished by some personal characteristic or, more commonly, as the son of his father. This developed between the 9th and 13th centuries among the oldest Irish families.

That the obligation of use of surnames is to be attributed to a statute of Brian Boru (A. D. 1002-1014) was stated by Keating and O'Curry and others. Father Woulfe says, p. xv,

> "Now if this were true, Brian himself, as the originator of the system, should have been the first to set the example of obedience to his own laws. But Brian never adopted a hereditary surname. Nor did his sons. It was only in the time of his grandsons that the surname Ó briain (O'Brien) first came into existence. It is clear that the new system was of gradual growth and that it arose, as Bardsley remarks, out of the necessity of the time, rather than as a part of a settled policy or according to any prearranged plan. Apart from the fact that royal ordinances of the kind ascribed by O'Curry were unknown in Ireland before the Anglo-Norman invasion, and in the best of times would be difficult, if not impossible to enforce, it can be shown from the Irish Annals that fixed surnames were already

> in process of formation before Brian was born and that the process was not completed until nearly two centuries after his death."

Again, p. xviii, he says, "But while it cannot be admitted that our surnames owe their existence to any ordinance of Brian Boru, still many of them arose in his time." The development of the custom of surnames continues at length. On p. xx he says,

> "It is a remarable fact, though so far as I am aware hitherto unnoticed, that Ireland was the first country after the fall of the Western Empire to adopt hereditary surnames . . . . . The oldest surnames on the Continent are those of France and Italy, especially the Province of Venice, but the earliest date assigned to them is the 11th century Among the common people hereditary surnames were not universal until more than two or three centuries later."

The custom in England, Scotland, Wales, Scandinavian countries, Germany, and Spain is discussed and then he concludes, p. xxii,

> "So tenaciously did the Jews stick to their Hebrew names that it was only in the 18th and 19th century that they were forced by governmental action in Austria, Germany and France to adopt hereditary surnames."

Much more might be quoted on the influence of the Anglo-Norman invasion and on the other influences brought to bear upon the form of Irish surnames, but since the book is so essential a handbook to anyone in need of information of Irish and Scottish people or their genealogy or history, it will doubtless be widely read and used as soon as its value becomes sufficiently well known.

The masterly handling of such a prodigious compilation is a tribute to Irish scholarship. Produced, as it has been, after years of study and research in a country so unsettled as Ireland has been for a decade, it proves that under the surface are wondrous depths of purity and clarity unaffected by the murky shallows to be observed on the top.

The cause of the Irish martyrs is entrusted to capable hands, in truth, when such a scholar as Father Woulfe was depended upon for expert testimony on the spelling of the martyrs' surnames.

Bibliographical Essays. A tribute to Wilberforce Eames. Cambridge, Mass.: The Harvard University Press. Pp. 440.

Wilberforce Eames is the leading bibliographer of the New York Public Library. Indeed he commands such respect throughout the bibliographical world that this unusual book was compiled in his honor by those throughout the country who knew his work best. It makes a remarkable tribute because it was called forth, not for any particular anniversary or similar celebration,—milestones seemingly having no place in his career,—but solely because no discussion of the future of the bibliographical field could be made without, first of all, paying homage to Wilberforce Eames. All of this is explained most charmingly by the several collaborators who write the introductory pieces. The list of subscribers contains most of the leading names in American bibliography, together with some from abroad. Of these, a few who had papers available for such a compendium, offered them as additional tribute. As they exist here, in this one volume, they make an important and interesting publication in the bibliographical field.

As in any sort of compilation from various authors, the essays are of varying degrees of merit. Some are precise, tabulated, and complete; others are sketchy and little more than personal notes, but all are profitable and informing, done, as they are, by specialists in the subjects handled. Probably the best way to give a clear idea of the contents of such a miscellaneous collection, to anyone who has not seen it, is to give the table of contents complete, and to append, wherever necessary, such additional notes as seem to be required.

The Clerk of Brenkelyn. Harry Lyman Koopman, Librarian of the Brown University Library.

A Letter of Explanation, on behalf of the Subscribers.

Honorary Degrees and citations . . .

Extract from a Letter from L. Nelson Nichols of the New York Public Library.

List of Subscribers.

Wilberforce Eames. A Bio-Bibliographical Narrative, Works and Contributions.

Victor Hugo Paltsits, New York Public Library.

All of the above express in different ways the esteem in which Wilberforce Eames is held.

Aids to the Identification of American Imprints. Alice Hollister Lerch. New York Public Library.

An explanation is given in this paper of the importance of photostats in the identification of imprints, a method largely devised by Mr Eames.

The Royal Primer. Check list of Royal Primers. Percival Merrittt, Boston.

This paper explains the difference between the Royal Primers and the New England Primers, showing that the one included material from the Book of Common Prayer and was therefore of broader scope, theologically, than the other which was based on the King James Version only, and used in a narrower code of theology.

The New England Primer. Worthington Chauncey Ford, Massachusetts Historical Society.

A most interesting theory of the beginning of primers is postulated in this essay in which it is thought that from the office of Prime, a manual of prayers suitable for the laity was developed which later became successively a prayerbook for children, a manual of religious instruction for children, and, after the great secularization of the 16th century, a manual of secular instruction for children.

Chez Moreau de St.-Mèry, Philadelphia. Publications of Moreau de St.-Mèry.

Henry W. Kent, Grolier Club, New York.

This paper chronicles the fruit of French colonial culture introduced into Philadelphia as a result of the troublous times in Santo Domingo.

Quienes fueron los autores, hasta ahora ignorados, de los libros ingleses que interesan a America. José Toribio Medina, Santiago de Chile.

The Literary Fair in the United States. Charles L. Nichols, Worcester, Mass.

This describes the first attempt to improve the quality of the Publishing business in the United States.

The Ballad of Lovewell's Flight. George Lyman Kittredge, Harvard University.

The essay gives a critical review of the authorship of this great poem from the standpoint of the bibliographer.

The First Work with American Types. Lawrence Counselman Wroth, Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library.

A Maryland Tract of 1646. Lathrop, Colgate Harper, New York.

The Maryland Tract referred to is one printed in London in 1646 in defense of Roman Catholicks. It is considered very rare but has already been cited by Father Hughes, S.J., in his *History of the Society of Jesus in North America.*

The Surreptitious Printing of One of Cotton Mather's Manuscripts. Thomas J. Holmes, Librarian of Mr. William Gwynn Mather's Library, Cleveland, Ohio.

Elizabethan Americana. George Watson Cole, Librarian of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

The Eliot Indian Tracts. George Parker Winship, Librarian of the Harry Elkins Widener Collection, Harvard College Library.

The New York Printers and the Celebration of the French

Revolution of 1830. Ruth Shepard Granniss, Librarian of the Grolier Club, New York.

Wall-paper Newspapers of the Civil War. Checklist of issues. Clarence Saunders Brigham, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester.

Analytical Methods in Bibliography Applied to Daniel Webster's Speech at Worcester in 1832. Clifford Blake Clapp of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Mills Day's Proposed Hebrew Bible. Oscar Wegelin, New York.

> A list is included in this paper of the various attempts at Bible publishing in America. Matthew Carey is credited with the first quarto Bible issued in the United States which was also the first Catholic Bible and was published in Philadelphia in 1789-90.

A Translation of the Rosetta Stone. Randolph G. Adams, Librarian of the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

Colonial American Arithmetics. List of Arithmetics published in America up to 1775. Louis C. Karpinski, University of Michigan.

Sixteenth-Century Mexican Imprints. Location Table of Mexican Sixteenth-Century Books. Henry R. Wagner, Berkeley, California.

> A valuable table of the imprints as far as known.

The De Bry Collector's Paineful Peregrination Along the Pleasant Pathway to Perfection. Henry Newton Stevens, London.

A Note on the Laws of the Republic of Vermont. List of Vermont Laws, 1779-1791. James Benjamin Wilbur, Manchester, Vermont.

The Promotion Literature of Georgia. Verner W. Crane, Brown University.

Books on Architecture Printed in America 1775-1830. Alexander J. Will, Librarian of the New York Historical Society.

Isaac Eddy, Printer-Engraver. Bibliography of Eddy Publications. Harold Goddard Rugg, Dartmouth College Library.

The First California Laws Printed in English. Chester

March Cate, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

> A brief but clear description of the unsettled conditions existing in California at the time of the change in government from Spain to the United States is given here.

Ann Franklin of Newport, Printer 1736-1763. Howard Millar Chapin, Librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

> That women were relatively as important commercially in Revolutionary times as they are now is the basis of this paper about Benjamin Franklin's sister-in-law.

The Work of Hartford's First Printer. List of Thomas Green's Hartford Imprints 1764-1768. Albert Carlos Bates, Librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society.

Writings of Rev. John Cotton. Julius H. Tuttle, Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Some Notes on the Use of Hebrew Type in Non-Hebrew Books 1475-1520. Alexander Marx, Librarian of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.

The Fasciculus Temporum. A Geneological Survey of Editions before 1480. Margaret Bingham Stillwell, Librarian of the Annmary Brown Memorial, Providence.

> While this essay does not concern Americans it is none the less interesting or valuable for that since it describes this product of the first printers and discusses a work which is to be found among the incunabula located in American libraries.

M. T. M.

NOTICES

(Selected books from this list will be reviewed in subsequent issues).

An Introduction to Church History, by Rev. Peter Guilday, Ph.D., (Herder, St. Louis), has just come off the press. The author very modestly states that it is "an outline for the use of beginners in the field" of ecclesiastical history. The volume is, in fact, a most scholarly exposition of the principles of historical method and meets a need which has long been felt by teachers and students. An extended review will appear in our next issue.

A Syllabus on International Relations, by Parker Thomas Moon (The Macmillan Company, New York), is a valuabe aid and helpful guide to teachers of the social sciences. It is suggestive and informing, well-balanced and scientific. It is, moreover, most comprehensive, and includes a bibliography that is eminently practical.

Dr. James F. Willard, of the University of Colorado, has just issued *Bulletin No. 3*. It is the largest and most representative publication that has been issued dealing with the progress of Medieval Studies in the United States. It covers the entire field of medievalism, comprising a record of Medievalists during the period February 2, 1924-February 1, 1925, and a list of Doctral Dissertations bearing on the subject now in progress or completed within the above period. A note of special interest in the Preface states: "The year 1925 promises to be notable in the annals of medieval studies in the United States for at last the dreams of many medievalists are to be realized in the publication of a journal devoted to their interests..... It will appear towards the close of this year under the date January 1, 1926."

The English Versions of the "Ship of Fools," by Fr. Aurelius Pompen, O. F. M. (Longmans, Green & Co., London and New York), is a critical discussion of one of the most famous books ever written. The original, *Narrenschiff*, is the work of a German author, Sebastian Brant, a native of Strassburg, and sometime Professor of Law in the University of Basel. It is a very extraordinary volume, and some historians assert that "there was no product of humanistic literature which so aided in paving the way for the Reformation" as the *Narrenschiff*.

The History of the Irish State to 1014, by Alice Stopford Green (The Macmillan Company, New York), is an attempt to bring together "fragments of early history and construct for the first time a continuous and reasonable account of the Irish commonwealth to the death of its greatest leader, Brian Boru." It is not a political history and the author aims "to

give a clear notion of the social and organized life of the Irish, their national character, culture and laws."

Greek Life and Thought: A Portrayal of Greek Civilization, by La Rue Van Hook, Ph.D. (The Columbia University Press, New York), is an important volume which aims "to present to the reader, who may or may not have some previous knowledge of the Greek language or civilization, certain aspects of ancient Greek life and thought." The author hopes that this book "may prove of value not merely as a text-book, but may fulfill a wider purpose." It should assist those who wish a better understanding of ancient Greek civilization and culture; to help readers to obtain a more intelligent appreciation of the Greek genius; and to convey a clearer realization of the great indebtedness of the world to-day to our Hellenic antecedents. It is admirably illustrated and has a splendid bibliography.

Miscellanea Hagiographica Hibernica Vitae Adhuc Ineditae Sanctorum Mac Creiche Naile Cranat, by Charles Plummer, M.A. (Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, and Blackwell, Ltd., Oxford), is a volume which will appeal only to scholars. As its name implies it is made up of various elements. A learned introduction is supplied to each section. For those whose studies lead them to the field of Irish Hagiography it is invaluable.

Chats on Christian Names, by Rev. A. M. Grussi (The Stratford Company, Boston), is a compilation of interesting contributions in Sunday-school papers and is as the author states "intended chiefly as a book for daily spiritual reading in the homes of those who may chance to buy it." There is a "Chat" for each day of the Christian year.

Christian Monasticism: A Great Force in History, by Ian C. Hannah, F.S.A. (The Macmillan Company, New York). Of this the author says: "It is my experience as a teacher of history that there is no subject on which the ordinary student, even though perhaps tolerably well read upon the Middle Ages, is more vague in his mind than upon the place of Christian monasticism in the story of the world. That is the theme with which I have tried to deal, and though many excellent things have been written about monks I am not aware of the existence of any book which deals with their earnest labours for mankind from just this point of view. "Christian monasticism, indeed, was one of the twin pillars of medieval civilization, the other being the tradition of Rome. While the world waits for the masterly work on Christian Monasticism which is bound to come, I have attempted to set forth its main outlines. But I have mainly supplied an introduction."

The Races of Man and Their Distribution, by A. C. Haddon, ScD., F.R.S. (The Macmillan Company, New York), is a book for beginners in the science of Ethnology and is, so the author declares, "to some extent a sum-

mary of a larger work" on which he is engaged. It is intended to be of use to students of geography and history, as well as to the general reader, who presumably require synthetic conclusions rather than detailed information.

Great Britain and the American Civil War, by Ephraim Douglass, Ph.D. (Longmans, Green & Co., New York), in two volumes, is a study of British attitude, both governmental and public, in relation to the American Civil War 1860-1865. The author is an American citizen who has previously published *British Interests and Activities in Texas, and The Power of Ideals in American History*. He has been at various times lecturer at the Universities of Harvard, Yale, Johns Hopkins, Michigan, California, and Kansas. The work is primarily a study in British history and is actually an appraisal of what the American Civil War meant to Great Britain; how the latter regarded it and reacted to it.

The Author's Book, issued on the occasion of Macmillan Company being in its attractive new quarters at Fifth Avenue, New York, is a new and revised edition of a little book previously published under the title of *Notes for the Guidance of Authors*. It is especially valuable to those who are not familiar with the preparation of manuscripts for publication, as the suggestions made in its several chapters have been compiled with the aid of the heads of the various departments of the Macmillan Company.

The publishing firm of A. De Wit, of Brussels, has recently published an interesting volume, *La tragédie mexicaine: Les Impératrices Charlotte et Eugénie*, by Baron Buffin. which sheds new light on the career of the Emperor Maximilian. The author makes use of numerous letters which hitherto have not been accessible to the ordinary student, e. g., letters of Napoleon III, of the Empress Eugénie, Pius IX, Leopold I and others. There is a specially valuable chapter on the sequestration of ecclesiastical property and the peculiar attitude of the Mexican clergy towards Maximilian.

Histoire de l'Eglise, by Ed. de Morreau, S.J. (Casterman, Tournai, Belgium) is a recent accession to the "Collection Belge des Manuels d'Histoire." Though brief, having less than four hundred pages, it is most comprehensive. Father de Morreau, whose name is familiar to readers of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Louvain) has the rare gift of combining brevity with clarity and precision.

Handbuch der Bibliographie, by G. Schneider (Hiersemann, Leipzig) seems to have supplanted Petzholdt's *Bibliotheca Bibliographica* (1866) and Stein's *Manual* (1897) in the field of general bibliography. The author's plan of treatment differs from that of both Petzholdt and Stein and the conspectus of the work is more ample. It should prove most valuable to librarians and historians generally.

A very timely and attractive publication is *Canisius, Deutschland's Zweiter Apostle, ein Charakterbild*, by J. Metzler, S.J. (Kuhlen, München-Gladbach). The volume, unlike the work of Braunsberg, is brief. Howbeit, it is an excellent sketch of the life of the new Doctor of the Church and omits nothing apparently worthy of note in the life of S. Peter Canisius. It is splendidly illustrated and has a map indicating the number and extent of the apostolic journeys of German's "second Apostle."

A new edition of *Lehrbuch der geschichtlichen Methode*, by A. Feder (Kösel and Pustet, Ratisbon) has been issued and contains considerable new material. This volume is without question the most useful work on the historical method for ecclesiastical students. It has already supplanted Bernheim's monumental work in some continental institutions. It is possible that shortly we shall have this work made available in an English translation by a professor of history at the Catholic University of America. Arrangements with the author have been in progress for some time, and probably within a year or so we shall have the English version. This will be a boon to American students

Histoire politique et sociale du peuple Americain, Vol. I, Des Origines, by M. Pasquet Picard, (Paris), offers much that will interest students of American history. The viewpoints of the author will not perhaps meet acceptance by the American student whose horizon, as a rule, is sadly circumscribed.

Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter, by G. Schnürer (Paderborn) is a scientific study of an interesting feature of medievalism. Dr. Schnürer, the author, is one of the best known professors of history at the University of Fribourg.

Lebens Weg und Lebens Werk, by Albert Weiss, O.P., S.T.M. (Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau) is the autobiography of an octogenarian apologist, living in retirement at Fribourg. Fr. Weiss is one of the founders of the great Swiss Catholic institution, and for decades has been regarded as a leader of German Catholic thought. This work is the crowning effort of his life.

A second edition of Dr. Callewaert's *Liturgicae Institutiones* has been issued by Bayert, the well-known publishing firm of Bruges. It is a general tractate upon liturgiology which has already proved its usefulness. The general conception of liturgical worship is expounded, and a brief history of the subject follows. The Roman liturgy is then dealt with more particularly, and a final chapter deals with the science of liturgiology and its methods. This second edition has been thoroughly revised, and changes consequent on the new code of Canon Law have been noted. The motto of the book is Tertullian's pregnant sentence, "Deum colimus per Christum."

Christian Apologetics, by Rev. W. Devivier, S.J., edited and translated by Rev. J. C. Sasia, S.J. (Herder, London and St Louis) should prove of the greatest value as reference book. In addition to clear arrangement and diction it is equipped with comprehensive bibliographies in every section. It is perhaps the most complete and efficient treatment of Apologetics in the English language.

For an admirable and non-controversial treatment of the Catholic treatment concerning Holy Orders and jurisdiction, both from the theological and historical point of view, *L'ordre et les Ordinations*, by M. l'Abbé Tixeront (Gabalda, Paris), is recommended as being remarkably clear and concise. It is unlike the ordinary dull text-book.

Histoire Politique des Protestants Français, 1715-1794, 2 vols., by Abbé Dodien (Gabalda, Paris), is a dispassionate study of 18th century France. It is, as far as we are aware, the first account of this period, by a Catholic author. It will prove a useful corrective to the views set forth by non-Catholic writers who have given currency to the view that the struggles of the eighteenth century were the genuine efforts of a sincerely religious sect to secure freedom for the mode of worship.

The Catholic Reaction in France, by Denis Gwynn (The Macmillan Company, New York and London) describes the actual condition of French Catholicism, in itself and in its national reactions. Mr. Gwynn's task was a rather difficult one, but he has acquitted himself of it most admirably. Mr. Gwynn devoted much time to it. He spent some three years of diligent investigation of conditions in several of the French Provinces; had access to most authoritative sources of information; made a deep and wide study of documents. The work has a special significance just now in view of the controversy being waged between Mr. Gwynn and the Abbé Dimnet in the columns of an American periodical.

De Matrimonio et Causis Matrimonialibus, by Nicholas Farrugia (Marietti, Turin) is a treatise combining Canon Law and Moral Theology. It consists of 540 pages full of most useful up-to-date matter carefully aligned with the rules of the Codex. The minute care of the author is shown in the chapter on consanguinity and affinity where the genealogical titles are given in Latin, Italian, French, and English. A copious index shows his desire to render this book of easy access to all priests in need of information.

Juris Criminalis Summa, by the Rev. Joseph Latini (Marietti, Turin), is a useful compendium of Criminal Law which should readily commend itself to specialists in Civil Law.

Mgr. Victor Day, of Helena, Montana, has issued a new edition of *The*

Church at the Turning Points of History, being a translation of Kurth's *L'église aux tournants de l'histoire* and has incorporated with it "*What are the Middle Ages?* by the same author. The new edition is a vast improvement on the former one which contained quite a few errors typographical and otherwise. The writer of this notice has used this work as a class manual and it has been found most satisfactory. It should have a large circulation in institutions where history teaching is more than an ordinary "recitation."

NOTEWORTHY ARTICLES IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

American Hierarchy, The Political "Menace" of the. By Rev. Francis W. Walsh. (*Truth*, April).

"Anglo-Catholic" Bogey, The. By Stanley B. James. (*Commonweal* June 6).

Antichrist, An Epiphany of. By Robert R. Hull. (*America*, March 28).

Authority, What is? By O. C. Quick. (*Pilgrim*, April).

Biblical Commission, Assent to the Decrees of the. By Hugh Pope, O.P. (*Blackfriars*, April).

Canada Français, L'Epopée Religieuse. By Robert le Bidois. (*Le Canada Français*, April).

Canada, Le Premier Grand Tremblement de Terre au. By P. G. R. (*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, May).

Canada Le Premier Missionnaire du. By P. G. R. (*Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, April).

Canisius, Blessed Peter. By G. Brinkworth. (*Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, May).

Catholics and Social Responsibilities. By S. Anselm Parker. (*Month*, June) .

Christian Law and Discipline in the Middle Ages. By A. L. Lilley. (*Pilgrim*, April).

Christian Sociology?, Is There a. By Patrick J. Ward (*Commonweal*, June 3).

Church in France, The. By Denis Gwynn. (*Commonweal*, June 3).

Church, The State of the. By Clarence Edward Macartney. (*Princeton Theological Review*, April).

Classical Investigation, The. By Roy J. Deferrari, Ph.D. (*Catholic Educational Review*, May).

Cobbett. By Joseph Clayton. (*Blackfriars*, May).

Cologne: Two Aspects. By Stephen Harding. (*Month*, June).

Constitutional Theory, The Progress of, 1776-1787. By Edward S. Corwin. (*American Historical Review*, April).

Constituzione Lituana, la. By A. Giannini. (*L'Europa Orientale*, March).

Criminals, Are We All Potential? By James J. Walsh, M.D., Ph.D. (*America*, May 9).

Critical Principles, the Permanence of. By Francis P. Donnelly, S.J. (*Catholic World*, April).

Danzica e la Polonia. By A. Palmieri. (*L'Europa Orientale*, March).

Decision and the Future, The. By Nelson Collins. (*Commonweal*, June 10).

De Laval, Les Neuveux de Mgr. By Mgr. Amédée Gosselin. (*Le Canada Français*, May).

Democracy and Leadership. By Hoffman Nickerson. (*Commonweal*, April 8).

Democracy and the Atheist State. By H. E. Humphries. (*Inter-University Magazine*, May).

De Retz, An Eighteenth Century. By Robert Bracey, O.P. (*Blackfriars*, April).

De Semet, Father, and the Pottawattamie Indian Mission. By Frank Anthony Mullin. (*Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, April).

Diet of Augsburg, Sacramental Negotiations at the, 1530. By Hastings Eells. (*Princeton Theological Review*, April).

Discipline in the Ancient Church. By J. Vernon Bartlet. (*Pilgrim*, April).

Dogma and Life. By Stanley B. James. (*Month*, June).

Don Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo. By John Ryan. (*Studies* March).

Eastern versus Western Mind. By C. C. Martindale. (*Month*, May).

Elias the Thesbite. By Rev. J. Simon, O.S.M. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, May).

English Martyrs, Footprints of the. By Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B. (*Catholic Gazette*, May).

Ethic, An International. By Joseph Keating. (*Commonweal*, April 29).

Eudist Family, The, and Its Holy Founder. By Fra Armino. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, June).

Europe: 1914-1925. By Brig. Gen. Lord Thompson. (*Current History*, April).

"Evangelical" Protestantism—A Study. By Robert R. Hull. (*Truth*, April).

Finmark in British Diplomacy. By Paul Knaplund. (*American Historical Review*, April).

France, Religious Strife in. By Wilfred Parsons, S.J. (*America*, March 28).

France, Trois "Discours" sur L'Histoire de. By H. Gaillard de Champris. (*Le Canada Français*, April).

France's War of Church and State. By Charles Guignebert and Georges Goyau. (*Current History*, May).

French Catholics: Their New Trial and New Spirit. By Félix Klein. (*Catholic World*, April).

French Church Policy, The. By Ernest Dimnet. (*Commonweal*, April 8).

French Masonry Backs Down. By François Veuillot. (*America*, May 30).

Germany, The Religious Issue in. By W. M. T. Gamble. (*Commonweal*, May 27).

Great Divide, The. By Rev. O. R. Vassall-Phillips, C.SS.R. (*Catholic Gazette*, May).

Herriot and the Church. By Denis, Gwynn. (*Studies* March).

Herriot's Fall, The Causes of. By Ernest Dimnet. (*Commonweal*, May 20).

History in the Press. By Teresa L. Maher. (*Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, April).

History, The Romance of, and the Audacity of Fiction. By Rev. H. E. G. Rope, M.A. (*Truth*, June).

How is One Converted? By Isabel C. Fortey. (*Catholic World*, May).

Huxley and the Church. By Bertram C. A. Windle. (*Commonweal*, May 27).

India, Catholic Literature in. By the Archbishop of Bombay. (*Catholic Truth*, May).

Ingersoll, "Bob." By James M. Gillis, C.S.P. (*Catholic World*, May).

Intentions and Doctrines. By Maurice de Wulf. (*Commonweal*, April 18).

International Study. By C. C. Martindale. (*Month*, July).

Iowa, The Beginnings of Education in. By C. J. Fulton. (*Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, April).

Ireland, Popular Education in, 1825. By T. Corcoran. (*Studies*, March).

Latin America's First Great Educator. By C. E. Casteneda. (*Current History*, May).

Lawyer Made Pope, The. By Rev. W. P. H. Kitchin, Ph.D. (*Magnificat*, May).

L'Eglise, Le Pouvoir absolu dans. By Pierre Charles, S.J. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, March).

L'Enseignement religieux dans les Collèges. By G. Lebacqz, S.J. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, March).

Lettonia, La Protezione delle Minoranze in. By B. Pirro. (*L'Europa Orientale*, April).

Library of a Priest, The. By Rev. Thomas Hughes, S.J. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, June).

Little Flower, The Secret of the. By C. M. De Heredia, S.J. (*America*, May 16).

Louvain Revisited. By Hilaire Belloc. (*Commonweal*, May 13).

Marquette, Account of the Second Voyage of Father. By Rev. Claud J. Dablon, S.J. (*Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, April).

Mexico, Religious Liberty in. By C. M. De Heredia, S.J. (*America*, May 9).

Missionary Zeal, A New Outlet for. By Floyd Keeler. (*Truth*, April).

Modernism and Historic Christianity. By Eldred C .Vanderlaan. (*Journal of Religion*, May).

Modernism in India. By Enola Eno. (*Journal of Religion*, May).

Mother in Christ, A. By Henry Longan Stuart. (*Commonweal*, May 27).

"Mysterium Fidei." By Rev. A. H. Ryan, D.D. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, May).

Newman, Cardinal, and Catholic Culture. By Rev. Daniel M. O'Connell, S.J. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, June).

Newman's Inner Life Revealed in His Sermons. By Rev. Anthony Linneweber, O.F.M. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, June).

New Russia in the Making, A. By A. J. Sack. (*Current History*, May).

New Zealand, The Story of the Church in. By George O'Neill. (*Studies*, March).

Nicaea, The Story of. By William J. McGarry, S.J. (*America*, May 16).

Nordics and the Merry Dean. By Condé B. Pallen. (*America*, May 30).

Nordics, Uncivilized. By Austin O'Malley. (*America*, March 28).

Oslo—Norway's Rebaptized Capital. By Bjarne Bunkholdt. (*Current History*, April).

Papal Paganism. By Robert R. Hull. (*Truth*, June).

Parents and Vocations. By Rev. Edward F. Garesche, S.J. (*Catholic Educational Review*, May).

Peace and the Sword. By J. Kendal. (*Month*, May).

Pennsylvania, A Rare Dutch Document Concerning the Province of, in the Seventeenth Century. By Daniel B. Shumway, Ph.D. (*Pennsylvania Magazine*, April).

Prohibition, Pro and Con. By John A. Ryan, D.D. (*Catholic World*, April).

Psychology and Boot-Racks. By E. Boyd Barrett, S.J., M.A., Ph.D. (*Catholic World*, April).

"Reformation" in Dublin, 1551, Fresh Light on the. By Rev. Myles V. Ronan. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, May),

Ronsard—Poet and Militant Catholic. By T. D. O'Donoghue. (*Blackfriars*, May).

Roosevelt, Mr. and the Pope. By Louis W. Reilly. (*America*, March 28).

Roots, and the Conversion of England. By Donald Attwater. (*Month*, June).

Sadducees, The. By Rev. J. P. Arendzen, D.D. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, May).

Saint Alphonse de Liguori, ascète. By François Jansen. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, April).

Saint Bonaventure. By E. Hocedez, S.J. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, March),

Saints and Scholars. IX. St. Bonaventure. By Rev. W. P. H. Kitchin, Ph.D. (*Magnificat*, April).

Saint Peter's of Barclay Street. By Thomas Walsh. (*Commonweal* May 6).

Sargent, The School of. By Morton Zabel. (*Commonweal*, April 29).

Senate Reform, The Question of. By Henry Jones Ford. (*Commonweal*, May 13).

Sermon, What is a? By Mgr. H. T. Henry, Litt.D. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, June).

Shall America Arm for War? By Admiral Rogers and General Bliss. (*Forum*, May).

Sisters of Charity, Early History of. By A Sister. (*Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, April).

Spanish Court, An Ambassador at the. By Daniel A. Binchy. (*Studies*, March).

St. Ambrose, A Note on. By A. L. Maycock. (*Month*, June).

St. Augustine and Evolution. By Rev. William L. Hornsby, S.J. (*Truth*, April).

St. Canisius, the Man of Providence. By Joseph Husslein, S.J. (*America*, May 23).

St. Columcille, The Exile of. By N. Doyle. (*Month*, June).

Theological Colleges and Press Defence. B. T. D. Roberts. (*Month*, May).

Truth, Synthesis of. By Floyd Keeler. (*Truth*, June).

Virgo Potens. By Bertha Radford Sutton. (*Catholic World*, April).

West Indies, American Influence in the. By R. A. McGowan. (*Catholic World*, May).

White Crusade, The. By Rev. C. C. Martindale, S.J. (*Catholic Truth*, May).

NOTES AND COMMENT

Coincidence, or Design?—In its issue of March (Vol. LXXIII, No. 3) the *Forum*, introducing the subject "America and Roman Catholicism" as a subject for discussion in its columns says: "Tolerance implies a willingness to discuss a question frankly and fearlessly. And because the *Forum* believes that it is tolerance rather than taboo which we must achieve in religious matters, as in all others, it is opening its pages to a discussion of this question [The Roman Catholic Church in America]. Synchronously with the appearance of the initial article "The Roman Catholic Church—An American Institution," by Mr. Michael Williams, editor of the *Commonweal*, the *Forum* circularized numbers of Catholics both ecclesiastics and laymen setting forth the glorious achievement. Furthermore, the *Forum* announces "John Jay Chapman accepts this challenge and gives his reasons for maintaining that the Roman Catholic Church is an alien institution both in its theory and in its practice. In his opinion, the essence of Americanism is to be found in reliance on the Private Mind whereas the essence of Roman Catholicism is to be found in respect and subservience to external Authority. Mr. Chapman declares that these two ideas are antagonistic and unassimilable. In the May *Forum* Dr. Frederick J. Kinsman, formerly Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Delaware and now a Catholic layman replies to Mr. Chapman."

Of course the *Forum* did not disclose the identity of the "robust Protestant" whom it had engaged to reply to Dr. Kinsman. This revelation came in the June issue. The *Forum* supplies the biography of the champion:

Dr. Charles Fama, born and brought up a Catholic, but now a prominent Italian-American Protestant, makes a further indictment of Catholicism. It was while studying philosophy under a priest in a Catholic university that Dr. Fama began to doubt Catholic dogma and to question the validity of the Church's teachings. When he told his professor the views that a study of philosophy had awakened in him, the priest himself advised Dr. Fama to renounce Catholicism in fact, for he was no longer a Catholic in spirit. After a period of doubt and search, Dr. Fama became a Protestant. A practicing physician by profession, he received his degree in medicine in this country, and also from the University of Palermo in Italy. At one time Dr. Fama studied to be a medical missionary and, though he is not an ordained minister, he is at present the President of the Protestant Italian Ministers' Association.

It is a rather singular coincidence, or s it not of design?—that facing the biography of Dr. Fama is an advertisement which is peculiarly suggestive, directing attention to a volume bearing the title, *Papal Paganism*, by one V. A. Philips. The legend appended runneth thus: *If you have been reading the articles appearing in the Forum under the caption, "Is Catholicism un-American?" you will surely be interested in this book.*

Roman Colleges.— Among the most important and interesting of the institutions of Rome are its colleges and seminaries.

The first of the colleges is the German College, founded on October 28, 1552, and which later became the German-Hungarian College, situated in the via San Nicola da Tolentino. Following came the Greek College, in the via del Babuino, founded on January 13, 1577; the English College, via di Monserrato, founded May 1, 1579; the Maronite College, via Porta Pinciana, founded June 17, 1584; the Scotch College, via delle Quattro Fontane, founded December 5, 1600; the Irish College, founded in 1618; in the via Mazzarino.

In the nineteenth century, these establishments multiplied. Belgium first, then France, founded houses where young clerics might come to study. The French Seminary, recently the subject of radical attacks by M. Herriot and of liberalistic by M. Engerand, goes back to October 2, 1853. Then followed the Teutonic College, the College of Pio Latino-Americano del Sud, or South American College, the North American College, the Polish College, Armenian College, Canadian College, Bohemian College, Spanish College, Ruthenian College and Portuguese College.

Finally, on October 1, 1919, Pope Benedict XV created the Abyssinian College, or Coptic, or Pontifical Ethiopian, destined to recruit and instruct clergy for the Coptic Church.

In the past fifty years, several historical institutes have been opened at Rome. France gave the impetus to the movement with the Athenian School. M. Albert Dumont was named, in June, 1873, sub-director of this school, with residence in Rome. A decree of November 25, 1875, constituted the French School at Rome as independent. Toward the end of the present year it will be able to celebrate fifty years of existence. Msgr. Duchesne directed this school from 1895 to 1922. Among the former pupils of this celebrated school are several who have distinguished themselves in literature, among them being Georges Goyau.

The example of France was followed by Austria in 1880. The first director of the Austrian Historical Institute was M. von Sickel. The present Austrian Minister to the Holy See was formerly director of this institute. In 1888 the Prussian Historical Institute was opened, with M. von Sybel as director. Afterward came the Hungarian Institute, due to the initiative of the clergy of Hungary. Its director was Msgr. William Fraknoi, who died on November 20, 1924.

England founded an historical Institute in 1901. Belgium followed suit in 1902, naming Dom Berlière, Benedictine of the Abbey of Maredsous, as its first director.

It is interesting to recall, likewise, that a German Catholic Society created a Roman Institute for the purpose of assembling material for a religious and ecclesiastical history of Germany. Fr. Ehrle, of the Society Jesus, now Cardinal Ehrle, collaborated in this great work.

Are the Pillars Crumbling?— Says an exchange: American college students, outside those in Catholic institutions of higher education, seem to be

running wild intellectually. President John G. Hibben of Princeton University has suppressed the May issue of the *Nassau Literary Magazine*. This is the first time in its eighty-three years that the *Nassau Lit*, as it is known on the campus, has been barred from circulation.

It was an attempt to rejuvenate the publication, reported to have met only mild financial success, that brought it into difficulties. Two articles—"Preface for the American Public," setting forth the new purposes of the magazine, and, "Sketches from a Madhouse"—brought about suppression.

William Mode Spackman of the class of 1927, chairman of the new editorial board, who wrote the madhouse sketch and assumed responsibility for the preface, has been removed by the Student Council from his post.

"Sketches from a Madhouse" purports to portray a scene in an asylum, with one character believing he is Christ. It is similar, in general style, to the writings of James Joyce and T. S. Eliot.

Princeton, according to reports from the campus, is very much aroused over the incident, with opinion fairly unanimous that the criticized writing passed far beyond the bounds of decency. Dr. Hibben said Mr. Spackman apparently had been "soaked in modernist literature and had attempted to go further."

At Harvard University several weeks ago issues of the *Lampoon* and the *Advocate* got into trouble with civil authorities. A copy of the *Nassau Literary Magazine* has been received by the *New York World*, which says the Harvard publications were mild in comparison.

This is the latest story of collegiate irregularity as gleaned from press reports. Where such disregard for decency is to end no one can say. It is very plain that old-fashioned restraints are thrown to the winds by many college students to-day. The so-called self-reliant, independent spirit is doing its worst. What is needed is a return to decency and the recognition of lawful authority.

A Prophet of Revolt.—Certain secular journals, notably in the New England States, have been editorially dithyrambic in their utterances regarding the recent visit to this country of the Anglican Dean of St. Paul's, London. Dr. Inge, the "Gloomy Dean" is known rather as a journalist and essayist than as a zealous churchman.

To those who agree with him or those who are awed by his show of learning, the Dean is a prophet and a seer. But to those who are unable to swallow his opinions, and have consequently been the objects of his bitter attack, the Dean appears not altogether in a favorable light.

For many years now, Dean Inge has been controlled by one pet obsession, animosity to the Roman Catholic Church. Because he manifests this animosity openly in printed word and spoken utterance, the Dean has come to be a sort of prophet of revolt against tradition in religion. His method is to muck-rake history and draw forth exploded fallacies and oft-refuted calumnies against the medieval Church, and hold them forth to modern

readers with all the elan of a new discoverer. Then, when taken to task by Catholic controversalists, the Dean's only answer is silence.

English periodicals are filled with the animadversions of Dean Inge, and with the answers to his charges against Catholicism. The Dean seldom deigns to reply, but returns again to the attack on the Church with the self-same arguments and the oft reiterated calumnies. Among the uninitiate he has been received as an independent thinker, a crusader for truth, a smasher of delusions, myths, and sentimentalities in religion, whereas the Dean is simply a destructionist, engaged in a work of demolition, that makes him a singular and sinister figure in the arena of religious controversy.

It is comparatively easy to establish a reputation for independent thinking, by disagreeing with others on almost every conceivable subject. The Dean is probably laboring under the delusion that he is regarded by Americans as a stimulator of thought, a tester of opinions, and a palladium of liberty of thought in religion. But the fact is that he has contributed nothing with all his scholarship and literary craftsmanship to the sum of religious truth or the diffusion of Christian charity.

Dean Inge has shown himself repeatedly a bitter opponent of Catholicism, fighting the Church with unfair tactics and outlawed weapons. What he said in America was but a repetition of his former calumnies. Catholics at least, who know how to appraise the gloomy Dean at his proper valuation, are not deceived by the glowing encomiums poured upon him by a certain section of the American press. His encomiums upon things "Anglo-Saxon-American" are regarded as "bouquets with bricks in them." It is a reflection upon English academic life that it can produce types such as he is. His denunciation of the great majority of Americans as "a mongrel horde" savors of vulgarism which is happily not common among English intellectuals. An ecclesiastical stormy petrel at home, he had the bad manners to indulge in malignant vaporings during his recent visit to the United States. Anent some of these the *Catholic News* says editorially (May 16):

> That Dean Inge had not spoken seriously or had been misunderstood when he was quoted as having declared to newspaper men, on the eve of his sailing for England, Saturday, May 9, that the Temple of Solomon should be rebuilt in New York, "where they have the largest number of Jews and plenty of Gentiles to fleece," was the opinion expressed by the Right Rev. William T. Manning, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of the diocese of New York.

Referring to the Manning explanations and the Dean's snarl on the occasion of his departure the New York *World* says:

> It is easy to understand the embarrassment, astonishment and disgust of Bishop Manning over the Klannish snarl of Dean Inge on the occasion of his departure, but it is quite impossible to accept the Bishop's naïve explanation.

The less said in extenuation, defense or explanation, the better. The unvarnished facts are that this English churchman came to America, to be received with cordiality in the beginning, to sneer at things Americans respect, and, in the end, to express a sentiment born of racial hate and bigotry. His petty slur on the Jewish race in New York City merely gives the measurement of the speaker, and hurts no one but himself.

The fact that this churchman holds these prejudices is not so surprising, in view of his reputation in his own country, as his prominence as an apostle of the religion of 'peace on earth, good will toward men.' Mr. Untermeyer is quite right—the Dean would clearly qualify for the bed sheet and the pillow case. No good purpose was served by his visit, and America is just a little better now that he has gone, trailing his intolerance and racial hatreds after him across the sea.

But let nothing in explanation of the inexplicable be said. The Dean has painted his own portrait—let it stand as he would have it.

The Catholic Church in Norway.—Norway recently celebrated the ninth centenary of the introduction of Christianity on her soil, by two commemorative jubilees in which Catholics were joined by the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Catholicism prevailed in Norway from the reign of Olaf Trygvasson (995-1000), and his successor Olaf Hardedsson (Saint Olaf) became the patron of the country. During his reign he exercised great influence by his personal example. After his death a church was built over his grave at Nidaros (now Trondhjeim). The Dioceses of Nidaros, Bergen, Oslo, and Stavanger were soon founded, monks and nuns carried on successful missionary work, and in a short time the land was covered with wooden churches (*Stockirken*) of singular architecture. The Norwegian bishops were under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Lund until 1152, when the papal legate, Nicholas of Albano, transferred the jurisdiction over the Norwegian Church to the Bishops of Trondhjeim and his successors. The suffragan Sees were Hamar, Faröe, and Kirkwall in the Orkneys, Skalholt, and Holar, in Iceland, and Gardar in Greenland. As early as the twelfth century, the monk Dietrich of Trondhjeim labored there and in 1250 a Franciscan wrote an account of his journey to the Holy Land. Norwegian students frequented the Universities of Paris and Bologna, or at a later period, attended the University of Rostock, in Mecklenburg. Lutheranism practically swept away the old faith and with it national independence. Catholicism, however, did not die out in Norway until the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Holy See entrusted the care of Norway, first to the nunciature at Cologne, and then to Brussels, but the intolerant laws of Denmark made Catholic ministration almost impossible. Conditions remained the same later when the supervision was changed from Brussels to Cologne, from Cologne to Hildersheim and thence to Osnabruck. Not until 1845 were Catholics released from Lutheran con-

trol. In 1869 Pius IX created an independent Prefecture Apostolic for Norway.

The status of the Catholic Church in Norway to-day shows progress. There are at the present time seventeen parishes, two of which are at Oslo and Trondhjeim; the others at Fredkisstad, Fredrikshald, Drammen, Porsgrund, Arendal, Kristanssand, Stavanger, Bergen, Hamar, Molde, Harstad, Tromso and Hammerfest. All are dependent on the Catholic Bishop of Norway and Spitsberg.

In other parishes that have but one church or chapel the number of Catholics, which in 1910 was 2,046, ten years later was 2,512. The parishes most recently founded are at Molde and Hamar. The Sisters of St. Joseph have a novitiate of Our Lady at Skoyen, where their novices pass their period of probation, and where the sick and aged Sisters come when incapacitated for work. They have a private chapel opened to the public on Sundays.

At Sylling the Sisters of St. Francis have their novitiate, and lately opened another at Oslo. The Sisters of St. Joseph have their field of action in the south, the Sisters of St. Elizabeth in the north, and the Franciscan Sisters in the west. The latter have also a hospital. The Orders of men represented in Norway are the Dominicans, the Picpus Fathers and the Franciscans.

In Norway the progress of the Church is marked, even if, owing to the peculiar history and circumstances it is of necessity, slow. The conversion of the famous author, Sigrid Undset, was a happy victory for the Catholic Church in Norway.

With the Catholic Norwegians St. Olaf is the national Saint. The ancient Normands went in pilgrimage to his sanctuary at Nidaros. The anniversary of the death of the Saint, July 29, was formerly a festival of impressive ceremonies carried on in presence of a great throng of people. These ancient traditions are still kept up by the Catholic Norwegians of to-day, under form of a pilgrimage to Stiklestad where the Saint was killed. This pilgrimage is made by non-Catholics as well as Catholics.

Pope Pius XI Aids in the Publication of Two Scientific Works.—It has been revealed, with the publication of two new German scientific works of the first rank, that it was only through the unflagging devotion of the Holy Father to science and his practical aid that the issuing of these works was made possible.

The revelation is the more remarkable in that one of the volumes was compiled by a Protestant professor and is published by a Protestant house.

German scientific reviews, Protestant as well as Catholic, are joining in praising the action of the Pontiff and his devotion to letters. Dr. Hilling, professor of canon law at the University of Freiburg, in Baden, writes:

"Pius XI is, after Gregory XVI, the most learned Pope, and has not denied his former scientific career, but confirmed it by supporting scientific work."

The first of the two works is the *Concilium Tridentinum*, the ninth volume of which has just been issued. The editor writes in the preface:

"How shall I be able to express my thanks to the Holy Father? Truly if this volume has some merit and friends of truth praise it, we must thank God and the Popes Benedict XV and Pius XI, who made it possible for us to publish this work."

The second work is the fifth volume of the *Acta* of the oldest Ecumenical Councils. Professor Schwartz, of Munich, writes in introduction:

"The noble liberality of Pope Pius XI brought very much help, which softened the greatest darkness like a saving light. By his repeated aid and support, in spite of the public need which seems to continue, the continuation and publication of this work has been made possible."

Lanfranc's Alma Mater.——The University of Pavia recently celebrated the eleventh hundred anniversary of its founding in 825 by the Emperor Lothair. Pavia was, even in early Roman times, a literary centre; as the capital of the Lombard Kingdom it had "grammar" schools. All through the dark period of the early Middle Ages it had kept alight the lamp of culture, and in the time of Charlemagne was already famous. It was in May, 825, that Lothair founded the University, as part of a wider scheme for reorganizing the schools of Italy, and placed at its head the Irishman, Dungal.

> From this time, a correspondent in the *Observer* (London) says, this school became celebrated for the study of the law. At Pavia, in fact, lived the most famous jurists and judges, who, in the first half of the eleventh century, taking the Roman law as a basis, compiled a vast commentary of the Lombard and Frank laws, known under the name of *Expositio ad librum Papiensem*.
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> Among the most eminent scholars who taught at Pavia in this epoch must be recorded Lanfranc, who was first teacher and judge, and then monk and abbot, and finally Archbishop of Canterbury. Born at Pavia towards 1005, and instructed from his earliest years *in scholis liberalium artium ad suae morem patriae*, he was later directed towards the career of lawyer by his father, who also was a judge. In fact, Lanfranc himself likewise became a judge, and, while still young, a teacher of law in the Pavia school. Emigrating from Pavia towards 1042, perhaps for reasons of political strife, he took the road to France and went to Normandy,..... entering the monastery of Bec, where he immediately made his mark for the great acumen he displayed in theological questions, which in those times greatly interested France, and was later abbot of the monastery of the Trinity of Caen.
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> It was probably, while occupying this post that, because of his lofty talents and his deep knowledge, he became known to, and appreciated by, King William, who at this time was preparing the expedition to England; and perhaps the counsel and the work of

Lanfranc were extremely useful to the King in his great undertaking, for the latter, in 1070, having victoriously completed the Conquest, granted to his counsellor the greatest reward that it was, perhaps, possible to give him, the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

After Lanfranc's time the University became overshadowed by that of Bologna, to whose schools of Canon Law students flocked from all parts of Europe. The Revival of Learning in the fifteenth century brought new life once more with the fame of the great humanists who lectured there. Lorenzo Valla, Giorgio Valla—the first professor of Greek—Demetrios Chalcocondylas, added lustre to its schools.

The University to-day is thoroughly well-equipped. Schools of engineering, mineralogy, chemistry, pathology and other practical sciences have taken their place beside the older schools. In 1913-14 there were 50 professors, 103 tutors, and over sixteen hundred students.

The celebrations included the unveiling of a statue of Lanfranc. The Library contains 250,000 volumes, 140,000 pamphlets, and 1100 manuscripts. Pavia is a city beautiful beyond many, with an atmosphere steeped in the traditions of an illustrious past, and there will be none of those who went to it from the other countries of the world on this occasion of rejoicing who will ever regret their response to the invitation: *Advenite itaque, sodales nobilissini, advenite.*

St. Peter Canisius, Doctor of the Church.— Amongst the canonizations which took place during May, none has a greater interest for the ecclesiastical historian than that of Father Peter Canisius of the Society of Jesus, the eloquent preacher, gentle counciliator and stalwart, unflinching champion in the forefront of one of the Church's greatest struggles.

Peter Canisius, or Kannees, was born at Nimwegen, in The Netherlands, May 8, 1521, the son of a wealthy burgomaster. In his youth he was sent to Cologne to study civil law, the arts and theology, and later studied at the University of Louvain. In 1543 he obtained admission to the Society of Jesus.

Immediately he took up the work which was to occupy the rest of his life and to mean so much to the Church. He helped found the first German house of his order, at Cologne, and began the career of preacher, teacher and defender of the faith. When in 1546 he was admitted to the priesthood, his sagacity and ability, especially as an interceder and conciliator, was recognized. He was accordingly sent on a mission to the Emperor Charles V and the clergy of Liége to win assistance against the apostate Archbishop Wied, and in 1547, although only twenty-six years old, he was addressing the general ecclesiastical council, as the theologian of the Cardinal Bishop of Augsburg. Thence he went to Rome, where he studied under Ignatius himself, and then began an incredibly busy series of duties as preacher, teacher and confessor.

He taught and preached in Messina, Ingolstadt, Vienna and throughout

Lower Alsace. He received the degree of Doctor of Theology at Bologna; was elected rector of the University of Ingolstadt; he was preacher at the court of Ferdinand I; refused the bishopric of Vienna; drove the married Lutheran priest Phauser from the court; opened Jesuit colleges at Ingolstadt and Prague; he was heard at the Diet of Augsburg.

When Ignatius in 1556 appointed Canisius provincial of Upper Germany, new fields were eagerly entered. He was advisor to the King of the Romans at Ratisbon, he championed the Catholic cause at Worms, under commission of the Pope and the clergy. He found time to found another college at Zabern and to strengthen those of the faith in Strasburg, Freiburg and Straubing.

Called to Rome for the First General Congregation of his order, he was sent by Paul IV to Poland with a nuncio, and in 1559 was at the Diet of Augsburg at the behest of the Emperor. Then came a respite of seven years during which he was preacher at the Cathedral of Augsburg and wrote a series of careful sermons which have won applause for their clarity of exposition and censure of the clergy as well as the laity when fault was to be found. These sermons totaled roundly 210.

After a short period in which he founded another college, Canisius again was called upon for a delicate mission. Pius IV sent him as a secret nuncio to bear the decrees of the Council of Trent throughout Germany. He was also to attempt to win over the active support of the German priests to the Church for the approaching diet. He attained a good measure of success, considering the difficulty of the situation.

Again at the Diet of Augsburg he warded off an almost inevitable breach which would have thrown into chaos all the careful work already done for the holding of Germany in the Church. When the cardinal legate was about to protest against the religious peace, Canisius, with the greatest difficulty, dissuaded him.

Canisius' own chief work is his *Catechism*, which has gone through hundreds of editions. It is regarded to-day, even by non-Catholics, as a masterpiece. It was printed in 200 editions and twelve languages before his death.

Canisius died in Freiburg November 21, 1597, and the prodigious work he did has given him the title of the second Apostle of Germany, only Boniface surpassing him. Miracles were soon attributed to him and his tomb became a center for pilgrimages. The first move for his beatification was made in 1625, and with many interruptions they were continued until his beatification in 1869. His tercentenary was celebrated throughout the world in an impressive manner, and reverence for him spread broadcast. The miracles of his canonization were approved in January, 1925, and on May 21 this stalwart figure of one of the most heroic periods in the Church's history received the halo of sainthood.

Norway's Rebaptized Capital.— The alteration of the name of the Norwegian Capital from Christiania to Oslo by a decisive vote of the Storthing in the summer of 1924 has an interest for the ecclesiastical historian.

Bjarne Bunkhold, a Norwegian publicist, discusses the change in an informing article in *Current History* for April. He says:

To appreciate fully the significance of this change a brief historical survey is necessary. According to tradition, Norway's old capital, Oslo, situated in the Oslo district generally called "Viken," was built by King Harald Haardraade in 1048, at the end of the Folden fjord, the now well-known Christiania fjord, on both banks of the small River Alna. On the east side was the mighty Ekeberg Mountain, on the west side of the bay was the peninsula Akersnes.

The first narrative of the foundation of Oslo, is a short note in the Snorresaga:

> In 1048 King Harald (Haardraade) ordered a settlement to be built east in Oslo and he often stayed there because of the supplies, and many people lived in the neighborhood. His stay there was of great consequence to the defense against the Danes, and from this place he had a convenient starting place for inroads on Denmark.

It is, however, hardly probable that the King created a town only by staying there himself. That would be in discordance with urban history as it has developed elsewhere in the world. The real creator of Oslo as a city was the Catholic Church, which, from the beginning, aimed at the ownership of the fertile surroundings close outside the town, the valuable Aker and the islands of Hovedöen and Bygdöx, and having taken over these territories, or at least most of them, eventually became the greatest landowner of that part of the country, with a surplus of farm products that made it possible for a town population to exist. Business and handicraft were secondary as compared with the Church, which had created the conditions for building a city. And the city later on flourished when the Church during the Middle Ages rose to her climax, and sank back into insignificance when the Reformation deprived the Church of her temporal rights of property. Oslo's fate is identical with the fate of similar cities all over Northern Europe—Canterbury, Lincoln and York in England, Bremen and Mainz and Strassburg in Germany, and Lund in Sweden.

Ordericus, the famous English scholar, in one of his books published in 1130, referred to Oslo. But, like other historians of the time, he contented himself with the mere mention of the town.

Oslo retained its place as a royal residence for the Norwegian Kings until the fourteenth century, when the union with Denmark occurred [by the Peace of Calmar] from this time on the Danish King ruling both countries resided in Copenhagen. Though nominally on a footing of equality with Denmark, Norway was soon reduced to the status of a feudal dependency, under a Danish Governor residing at the capital. Because of its wooden structures Oslo was the victim of many fires, and five times the city was laid in ashes before the final destruction in 1624. In this year, during one of the numerous wars with Sweden, a Swedish fleet bombarded

Oslo and the city with its wooden houses was set on fire and reduced to ashes. The Danish King then sovereign over Norway was Christian IV. Though he was popularly known as the Father of the Nation, his strong interest in Norway was, in no small degree, influenced by the fact that he had discovered the very rich silver mines at Kongsberg, which gave him a welcome increase of income.

Oslo having been destroyed, King Christian ordered the inhabitants to move from the old site to a new one close behind the fort of Akershus on the Akersnes peninsula. Here he ordered a new city to be built and gave it his own name to commemorate his benevolence. And thus Christiania came into being. The name of Oslo was declared dead and, nolens volens, the Osloians had to content themselves with this new state of affairs. The rebaptism of Christiania as Oslo thus harks back to historical events that occurred three centuries ago—the destruction of the old city and the rise of the new under its Danish name. The modern link, in other words, covers the years 1624-1924.

But long before 1624 the decline had set in. During the Catholic period Oslo flourished as long as Norway kept away from the neighboring countries. But the union with Denmark was disastrous for Norway. The hard times that followed for the country, with almost yearly wars inflicted by Denmark's aggressive policy, put a great demand on the ablebodied and always loyal Norwegians, and the heavy taxes made the burdens so intolerable that all thoughts of national self-assertion had to be abandoned in favor of the work for existence from day to day. The introduction of Lutheranism made the economic situation worse, and during the years from 1387 to 1814 the history of Norway and of Norway's capital has no claim to interest; the narrative would be only a tale of political decadence, in which Oslo played the part of a straggling village. Never was Oslo so poor and insignificant as during these years.

The Bridge-Building Brotherhoods.—The English press has of late carried several notices on the monastic bridge-builders of the Middle Ages. Referring to an article on "The Battles of London Bridge" printed in *T. P.'s and Cassell's Weekly*, issue of January 10, a writer in the issue of February 14 calls attention to a reference to Samuel Smiles' statement in his *Lives of Engineers* to the activities of the "Bridge Brothers," who built bridges in England in medieval times. This is the quotation:

> The brethren spread into England (in the thirteenth century) and went from one work to another, building bridges and chapels thereon, the provision of a bridge-chantry characterizing nearly all their early structures in this country. Indeed, the architecture of the early bridges in many respects resembled that of the early cathedrals. From the point at which the piers rose above the level of the stream, ribs of stone usually spanned the openings from one pier to the other, precisely similar to the Gothic arching of Cathe-

drals and vaults of chapter-houses) and it is most probable that the bridges and Cathedrals were built by such workmen.

We find in the register of the Archbishop of York, in the thirteenth century records of indulgences granted to those who contributed to the construction of bridge.

There were many Bridge-Building Brotherhoods in existence in the south of France during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In many cases these brotherhoods were constituted of three branches; knights, who contributed most of the funds and were sometimes called *donati;* clergy; and artisans who performed the actual work of building. The Brotherhood known as the *Fratres Pontifices (ponti-fices* meaning "bridge-builders"), or *Frères Pontifes* is said to have been founded by St. Bénézet (Provençal for the name Benedict), a youth, who, according to the legend, was divinely inspired to build the bridge across the Rhone, at Avignon. The story of the construction of this bridge is told very graphically in a charming work by Casey, *The Lost Kingdom of Burgundy,* in the chapter "The Singing Isle" which deals with Avignon. It is truly graphic, and during a recent visit to Avignon the writer of this note read the chapter seated in full view of the *Pont d'Avignon,* of which the ruined arches are reminders of the spirit of faith and enterprise which characterized those ancient days of which moderns have grown so forgetful. Those who are interested in the monastic bridge-builders of the Middle Ages will find the subject discussed in Bruguier-Roure, *Les constructeurs de ponts au moyen age* (Paris, 1875). For the work done in England, Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life,* tr. (London, 1889) is valuable.

A New Saint.— It is unusual to find a secular journal such as the New York *Times* discuss editorially the canonization of a Saint. In its issue of Sunday, May 11, it says under the above caption:

> That one whom relatives and others still living knew in life should be proclaimed a "saint" is an extraordinary occurrence; but the dome of St. Peter's in Rome will be lighted tonight with thousands of candles and lamps in celebration of the canonization of one who, if living, would be only 52 years old and who died within the memory of persons in middle life. Therèse Martin, a frail girl, early left motherless, born and brought up in a little manufacturing town in France, not far from Caen, going into the seclusion of a convent at the age of 16 and dying at the age of 24, is being honored beyond any woman of her day. Touching only a few lives in her own brief life, she has in some mystical way made an appeal to millions of men, women and children since her death. There was no glorious martyrdom to account for this, no glorious achievement such as Joan of Arc's. Even the "indulgences" granted to readers of her autobiography, which has been published in nearly every language and in innumerable editions cannot explain

this remarkable recognition; nor can the miracles which her prayers are said to have wrought. But whatever the reason, it lies somewhere within a realm that is beyond the material. It is a phenomenon of the spirit. According to the allocution of Pope Benedict XV, the sanctity of this woman, now become a "saint," due to virtues which it requires heroism to cultivate amid "the deceit, the fraud, the hypocrisy" of the world. These virtues are attained only through the discipline of self-surrender till one comes into the sincerity and simplicity of "spiritual childhood." The exaltation of the unknown child, of humble parentage, to sainthood gives evidence of something beyond the analysis of the chemist or physicist, or the reach of material avarice or worldly ambition.

The Catholic Population of the United States.— The *Catholic Press Directory*, published by Joseph H. Meier, of Chicago, states that there are 20,738,447 Catholics in the United States.

This figure shows that the Church has gained 10,608,770 members during the last twenty-five years and, comparing the total of to-day with that of ten years ago, the compiler points out that the increase in the number of Catholics during the last decade has been 4,429,137. This splendid record is shown despite the great World War, which practically stopped the European influx, and notwithstanding the restriction of immigration during the past few years. These gains also set at rest rumors of the so-called leakage in the denomination.

The publisher's figures for the Catholic population are higher by over 2,000,000 than those published in the 1925 edition of *The Official Catholic Directory*, but Mr. Meier says he has taken into consideration the floating population and the non-registered membership. Mr. Meier was for fifteen years the compiler of *The Official Catholic Directory*, and for nearly twenty years he has made a study of Catholic statistics. He claims that in presenting his latest figures he has made use of the experience gained during the last two decades.

The *Catholic Press Directory's* Catholic population figures—20,738,447—are also much higher than those made public a few weeks ago by Dr. H. K. Carroll, the well-known Protestant statistican. Dr. Carroll annually makes up a table of statistics covering all denominations, but as a majority of the Protestant churches figure only communicants, Dr. Carroll includes only communicants when quoting membership in religious bodies. This method, of course, excludes millions of Catholic children, who were too young to receive holy Communion. According to Mr. Meier, Dr. Carroll follows this plan so that all denominations are figured on the same basis in his tabulation.

As the Government Census bureau does not permit its enumerators to question citizens as to their Church affiliations, no actual count has ever been made, but if such a census were taken, the Chicago publisher claims, his figures would be found under, and not over, the mark.

The new *Catholic Press Directory* also shows that there are 60,155 sisters and nuns in the United States, 5,273 residences of sisters, 216 seminaries, universities and colleges; 208 monasteries, abbey and scholasticates; 592 convents and novitiates, 607 academies and boarding schools, 611 high schools, 559 hospitals and sanitaria, and 598 charitable institutions.

A Triumph for Catholic Schools. —When some days ago, President Coolidge in the Blue Room of the White House greeted Francis B. French, the thirteen-year old winner of the National Safety Campaign essay contest, he handed to him a diploma which was not only evidence of one Catholic boy's success, but also a certificate of merit for the school system under which the lad had been trained.

Francis B. French, who won first honors in a contest in which 400,000 pupils of American schools competed, is a product of St. Mary's parochial school, Elizabeth, New Jersey. Lest his feat should be regarded as singular, a few other achievements of Catholic pupils in other open contests of a similar kind recorded in the first four months of the present year should be noted.

Of the 4,000 high school pupils from Pittsburgh district who competed for the regional awards offered in the essay contest of the Electric League of America, the first prize winner was Mary Billante, sixteen-year-old student at St. Mary of the Mount Catholic High School of Mount Washington.

In Michigan, the American Legion offered a prize for the best exposition of "Why Communism Is a Menace to Americanism." Pupils from schools in every part of the state entered the competition, and the first prize went to Mary McGilivary, a student at St. Mary's Academy, Monroe, Mich., conducted by the Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

The city of Mobile invited pupils of public, private and parochial schools within its borders to submit essays on the career of Lafayette, offering a gold medal as the prize for the best contribution. The medal was presented last month by Mayor Hartwell as a feature of the Lafayette Centennial celebration. In handing it to Miss Lillian Westbrook, a pupil of the Cathedral Girls' School, conducted by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, the mayor recalled that only a short time before, Miss Juliette Mayson, a pupil of the same school, had brought distinction to Mobile by winning first prize over 10,000 other boys and girls in an essay competition conducted by a New England publishing house.

Cleveland pupils were asked by the Western Reserve Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution to enter a Flag Story contest. Prizes of $25 for first in any group, $10 for second, and $1 for each of the next fourteen in the group were announced. In the eleventh and twelfth grade groups every single prize of the sixteen in each case was captured by a pupil from a Catholic school.

Non-Catholic organizations sought an expression from the youth of the land concerning the dangers of Communism, the sacredness of the flag, the birth struggles of the Nation at which Lafayette assisted. In each case

judges chosen by these non-Catholic bodies awarded the premier honors to boys and girls educated under Catholic auspices.

Here is a partial record for a period of four months. It is a record of which Catholics who often make sacrifices that their children may have an education under religious influences may well be proud. It is likewise a record which enemies of the parochial school and the Sisters' Academy would do well to ponder.

In the Blue Room of the White House, when a Catholic parochial schoolboy was congratulated by the President of the United States upon his victory over 400,000 contestants, a rebuke was given to those opponents of the Catholic school system whose patriotism is of a brand which would use the flag for partisan purposes.

"Uplift Gush."— In connection with the conference on child welfare held in New York City on May 20, Governor Roland H. Hartley of Washington, wired the President of the Child Welfare Committee of America to the effect that while many in the State would gladly attend the conference he believed they could best serve the State by staying at home and attending to their own affairs. The Governor's telegram said, in part:

> Child welfare—what is the matter with our children to-day? In my opinion they are being made to pay the penalty for an overabundance of altruistic twaddle. Too many mothers and fathers are giving their time to saving their neighbors' children while their own children are left to shift for themselves and do as they please.
>
> What we need is to get back to the simplicity of the old-fashioned, truly American family circle and to stop a lot of this uplift gush, this indiscriminate spending of money in so-called charity and welfare work. In short, while welfare clubs, organizations and societies are meeting, conferring and resoluting, the home and fireside, the bulwark of good citizenship, is left in charge of the cat and canary.
>
> Can we wonder that our children go wrong? Petted, pampered, educated at the expense of the State, robbed of self-reliance and independence, we send them forth as weaklings to take up the rugged path of life for themselves.

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